The Life of Anne Boleyn

From the painting by an unknown artist in the National Portrait Gallery.

ANNE BOLEYN.

The Life of Anne Boleyn

: : By Philip W. Sergeant : :

WITH 16 ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

It is a melancholy feature, to a student of the Tudor period of history, that no attempt is made by the contemporaries of the leading men and women in it to judge them dispassionately, according to their merits; the verdict is decided solely by reference to their religious views. It is not character which counts as a title to praise or blame, to love or hatred, but one thing only, whether the man or woman was a friend or foe of the ruling Church. This is the touchstone to distinguish between gold and base metal. Any error, any duplicity, almost any crime can be forgiven to "right views." When the end comes, as so often, in a cruel way, if the sufferer is orthodox, from the writer's standpoint, he is a martyr; otherwise, *si periret, vile damnum*—he is a pernicious heretic, and there is no more to be said about it.

This is melancholy, but not surprising, in a time of such bitter religious dissension. Not surprising, that is to say, to anyone who appreciates the danger of deep "conviction" in so imperfect and ill-balanced an organ as the human brain. What is surprising is that, at such a distance of time from the Tudor days as now, the same false method of judgment should hold sway, that the ghosts of those who lived and wrote under Henry VIII. and his immediate successors should be allowed to guide the pens of their descendants. With such a wealth of evidence before them as has been revealed by patient research among the actual documents of the period, the general body of historians still continue to find the test of worth in "Catholicism" or "Protestantism," and to shut their eyes to what really matters, the character—the soul if you like—beneath the label. Thus, according to religious classification, we get whole rows of saints and sinners, who were really just ordinary men and women, far removed from sainthood, and no more sinful, in the majority of cases, than the men and women of to-day.

I trust that it is not necessary, to those who have read my "Little Jennings and Fighting Dick Talbot," for me to assert that I have no bias against the Church of Rome. The Duke of Tyrconnel was a Roman Catholic; and I was at considerable pains to establish that he was not the scoundrel that Whig-Protestant historians, and their arch-priest Macaulay in particular, represented him to be. I endeavoured (with inadequate success, perhaps) to show him as a man, not a religious bogey. I claim the same privilege with regard to Anne Boleyn. That she was a sympathizer with the Reformers, their patron and their "nurse," as Anne's most bitter enemy Chapuys called her, has nothing whatever to do with her moral worth or worthlessness. There were good Reformers and bad Reformers; and, as far as I can see, their religious opinions neither made them good nor made them bad. It was not his views on the Church—which it would be difficult to define apart from his views on his own infallible perfection—that made Henry a bad man.

Anne Boleyn's fate in history has been more extraordinary than that of the mass of her contemporaries, in that the estimate of her formed by her religious opponents has not only been perpetuated by those who are antagonized by her Lutheranism,* but also to a large extent accepted by writers whom one has no reason to suspect of such prejudice. Even the monstrous tales of Nicholas Sanders have been given credit, down to the present day, by historians who have no interest, as Sanders had, in traducing the characters of Anne and her daughter Elizabeth with any lie which might serve the purpose. Why? It is incomprehensible; except that

* The enduring nature of the religious hatred against Anne, outside literature, is illustrated by the facts mentioned in "Notes and Queries" some sixty years ago (2nd Series, Vol. VI., page 525, and 3rd Series, Vol. IV., pages 245, 504) that "Anna Bolena" was used as a term of opprobrium in Spain and elsewhere, and that in Sicily her soul was popularly supposed to be confined under Etna—a strange successor to the Titan Enceladus!

Whether it is a compensation that "Anna Bolena" was the name of the filly which won the Poule des Pouliches at Longchamps this year, is doubtful.

to reject the oft-repeated tales of history seems to require an effort too great for the intellectual indolence of most of us.

Of course, it is quite possible to dismiss Anne Boleyn's religious opinions and still to regard her as a bad woman. Whether or not this is a just view depends on a careful examination of the evidence. That is what I have striven after. I do not hold with Bishop Burnet, that, if an historian "but slightly touches the failings of his friends, and severely aggravates those of the other side," it does not blacken him. If, therefore, I have passed over any evidence against Anne, it has not been of intent. In the pages which follow, the conclusion to which I have come (concerning the worth of which I expect no one else to have any illusions) may stand forth.

If three lines only were allowed in which to sum up the character of Anne Boleyn, I would choose those which Euripides puts into the mouth of Medea :

> Μηδείς με φαύλην κἀσθενῆ νομιζέτω
> μηδ' ἡσυχαίαν, ἀλλὰ θατέρου τρόπου,
> βαρεῖαν ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοισιν εὐμενῆ.

But Anne had withal, it is evident even through the clouds of the Sixteenth Century, more feminine charm than Euripides has attributed to the Princess of Colchis.

PHILIP W. SERGEANT.

St. John's Wood,
October 1st, 1923.

Note.—Acknowledgment has, I think, been sufficiently made, in the body of this work, of the sources to which I have been indebted for information. I should like, however, to make special mention here of five of the more recent authors who have devoted attention to Anne Boleyn's history: P. Friedmann, J. S. Brewer, James Gairdner, J. H. Round and M. A. S. Hume. For not being able always to see eye to eye with one, or any, of these, I need not, perhaps, apologize; since neither do their eyes all look the same way.

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THE LIFE OF ANNE BOLEYN

CHAPTER I

THE BOLEYN FAMILY

THE story of the hapless second wife of Henry VIII., the mother of England's greatest Queen, begins with a mystery which has given rise to controversy of considerable proportions. There is no reasonable doubt as to her parentage ; for the infamous suggestion of Nicholas Sanders* is not in need of refutation to-day. The date of her birth, however, and her position in the order of the Boleyn family are matters of opinion, apparently incapable of definite confirmation.

Thomas Boleyn, the father of Anne, came of an old Norfolk family, for which, after her rise to temporary splendour, a Norman origin was claimed, to the disgust of many people at Court. At any rate, the first of the line to bring it into prominence was Geoffrey Boleyn, variously stated to have been the son or the grandson of Thomas Boleyn, of Salle, Norfolk, and Anne, daughter of Sir John Bracton, a Norfolk knight. Geoffrey seems to have been brought up to London by his father and apprenticed to the trade

* See page 19 (note).

of a mercer. He succeeded in business, and in 1424 was Master of the Mercers' Company, while in 1457 he was Lord Mayor of London, being then a knight. Moreover, he made a good marriage, taking to wife Anne, daughter of Lord Hoo and Hastings. With her he probably acquired money, as he certainly did in one way and another; for when he died in 1471 he left £1,000 in London charities. He was buried at the church of St. Lawrence Pountney.

Sir Geoffrey and his wife had a son William, who was born about 1451. In the "Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem" of the reign of Henry VII. are two entries concerning a certain Thomas Hoo, owner of the manor of Offeley, Hertfordshire, who died on October 8th, 1486. The manor, it appears, had been remaindered to Anne, wife of Geoffrey Boleyn, and, she being dead, it thus came to her son. In the second entry, a writ dated October 17th, 1487, it is stated that "Wm. Boleyn, knt., aged 36 and more, is his [Thomas Hoo's] cousin and heir, *viz.*, son of Anne, daughter of Lord de Hoo and Hastynges, his brother."

William Boleyn had been knighted by Richard III. at his coronation. He was, no doubt, a fairly rich man on his father's death, when he himself was only twenty. Somewhere about the beginning of Henry VII.'s reign, he made a good marriage, with Margaret Butler, daughter of Sir Thomas Ormonde, as he was at the time styled, afterwards seventh Earl of Ormonde. This marriage was good from the point of view of blood, and it was destined to be good from that of money also; but, at the time when Sir William Boleyn married, his father-in-law's family

were under attainder, he was a younger son, and his pecuniary resources were for long so poor that he was even compelled to borrow money from his son-in-law. The latter, however, could afford to lend, and by doing so he certainly did not lose in the long run, after Ormonde became the seventh Earl, more especially when he died and left to his two daughters his considerable estates in England.

In the same "Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem" already quoted is a writ dated November 29th, 1485, in connection with the death of Anne, wife of "Thomas Ormond, knt." which states that "Anne, wife of Jas. Selynger [*i.e.*, St. Leger], Esq., aged 23 and more, and Margaret, wife of William Bolyn, knt., aged 20 and more, are their daughters and heirs." The age thus assigned to Margaret Boleyn is a puzzle; for we know by Thomas Boleyn's own statement, at the time of the divorce proceedings between Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon in 1529, that he was then fifty-two years of age.* He must, therefore, have been born about 1477, so that his mother could not possibly have been but twenty in 1485. Thomas Boleyn was the eldest, or at least eldest surviving, son of his parents. His first public appearance was in 1497, when he accompanied his father in arms against the Cornish rebels who were threatening London.

In 1505 Sir William Boleyn died. In the "Calendar of Patent Rolls" of Henry VII. is a license, dated February, 1506, of "entry without proof of age for Thomas Boleyn, esquire, son and heir of William

* See Deposition of Thomas, Viscount Rochford, at the Friars Minors, July 15th, 1529, in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII."

Boleyn, knight, deceased, tenant in chief on all the lands of the said William in England, Wales, Calais or Ireland." Dame Margaret Boleyn was still alive; but Thomas was now a rich man, with the properties left to him by his father. This made a very considerable difference to him, as we may gather from a letter which he wrote over thirty years later to Thomas Cromwell. The Earl of Wiltshire, as he had then become, said: "When I married I had only 50*l.* a year to live on for me and my wife as long as my father lived, and yet she brought me every year a child."* This is an interesting sidelight on the early circumstances of a man of whom the French diplomatist Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, was later to quote the Bishop of Worcester as saying that "he would sooner act from interest than from any other motive," and who proved the truth of this verdict throughout his career.

Unfortunately for the historians, the Earl of Wiltshire did not mention to Cromwell how long he was married before his father's death raised him above an income of £50 a year; and so we are without knowledge as to when plain Thomas Boleyn took to wife the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas, afterwards second Duke of Norfolk. He kept up the family tradition of aristocratic marriages. But, lest it should surprise us that Thomas Boleyn, even with his expectation of riches some day, should be able to make a match with a family connected with royalty itself, it must be remembered that Thomas Howard was in prison for four years after the battle of Bos-

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. XI., page 13. This letter is quoted again below, page 289*n*.

worth, and on his release in 1489 was only restored to the earldom of Surrey, not being allowed to take the dukedom of Norfolk until twenty-five years later. Nor was he wealthy yet. Therefore, Thomas Boleyn, like his father, made somewhat of a matrimonial gamble, marrying blood, with a possibility of money to come later.

In the Pardon Roll of the first year of Henry VIII. Thomas Boleyn appears as of Blickling, Norfolk, Hever, Kent, New Inn without Temple Bar, and Hoo, Bedfordshire; while in the Patent Rolls two years earlier he is described as "yeoman of the crown" in connection with the port of "Lenne," Norfolk. When the new reign began he had the position of a man of property, and the scene was set for his climbing ambition.

Such was Anne Boleyn's ancestry; and it can be seen, therefore, that her family could scarcely with fairness be described as "upstarts," even if the pretensions to a Norman origin were more shadowy than, say, the Tudor claims to derivation from Welsh princes.

When we come to the question of Anne's birth, we are no longer in clear regions. It is very remarkable that there should be such doubts as there are with regard to the age of a lady who was for over three years Queen of England. Camden, the historian of her daughter Elizabeth, states that she was born in 1507; and, though he himself was not born until fifteen years after Anne's death, he is an authority who cannot easily be rejected. Moreover, a writer named Henry Clifford, who was at one time in the service of old Lady Jane Dormer, a friend of Queen

Mary, distinctly states that Anne at the time of her execution was not twenty-nine years of age. Clifford was not born until about 1570 ; but his patroness was born in 1538 and thus establishes a link with the reign of Henry VIII. Clifford, doubtless, preserves the Dormer family tradition—which in other respects was decidedly unfavourable to Anne Boleyn.

These two writers are the only ones who give a date, and their statements harmonize. Unfortunately, however, a very strong conflict of evidence is found on the point whether Anne was younger or older than her sister Mary, they being variously described in the nearest approach which we get to contemporary documents.* The matter is of importance with regard to Anne's age. If she were the elder she must have been born earlier than 1507, because of what we know about Mary Boleyn. Eminent modern historical writers are seriously divided on the question, and it is only with extreme diffidence that one can agree with some and differ from the others. On the whole, the balance of probabilities seems to be in favour of the view that Mary was the elder sister, as will appear in the course of the next chapter.

Thomas and Elizabeth Boleyn had one other child that grew up besides these two daughters, namely, a son George, afterwards Viscount Rochford, who died on Tower Hill on May 17th, 1536. His age relative to his sisters is nowhere stated. A poem written on the occasion of his death says that before he was twenty-seven he was "preferred into the privy councell ;"† but a record of his first preferment to the Council is wanting. He was of the King's privy

*See Appendix A. † See Appendix B.

chamber at least as early as 1525, but this can scarcely be what the poem refers to. If he was of the Council, it would not have been before he became Viscount Rochford, after his father's attainment of the earldom of Wiltshire at the end of 1529. This would make him born not earlier than 1503. Whether he was the "Master Bollyn" who appears immediately after "Master Sir Thos. Bollyn" in the Revel Accounts for the mummery on Christmas Day, 1514,* is uncertain.

It is variously claimed that Anne was born on her father's property at Blickling, Norfolk, which her great-grandfather had purchased from the well-known Sir John Fastolf, and on his other estate at Hever, Kent, also first acquired for the family by Geoffrey Boleyn. There is nothing beyond tradition to support either claim. Blickling, it is true, used to be haunted, in popular legend, by Anne's ghost, as also used the old church at Salle, whence Geoffrey's father came to start the fortunes of the Boleyns in London. What the ghost did, however, is not evidence.

By her name Anne recalled at least two of her ancestors, Anne Bracton and Anne Hoo, as well as one of her father's sisters and her grand-aunt, Anne St. Leger.

If we accept the date 1507 as the date of her birth, Anne Boleyn was about two when Henry VIII., aged eighteen, ascended the throne of England. Thomas Boleyn was then "Squire for the Body" to the new King, in which capacity he figured at the funeral of Henry VII. With his wife he was present at the coronation of Henry VIII., Elizabeth Boleyn's

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. II., page 1501.

name appearing among the Baronesses in the list of the Queen's Chamber. A tangible proof of his master's favour, the start of which is unknown, had already come to Thomas Boleyn. On June 22nd, he was among the twenty-six honourable persons ordered to repair to the Tower of London to serve the King at dinner and to bear dishes, "in token that they shall never bear none after that day;" for on the morrow they were made Knights of the Bath. The Tower of London, which was to have such sinister associations with the name of Boleyn, saw the courtier Sir Thomas firmly set on his upward career.

In connection with Lady Boleyn, a curious point must be noted. Miss Strickland, in her "Lives of the Queens of England," misreading a note by Thoms the antiquarian on a story told about Queen Elizabeth by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, and combining this error with a wrong date given in a privately printed memorial of the Howard family, made Elizabeth Howard die in 1512 and her husband marry at some subsequent unknown date "a Norfolk woman of humble origin."* Thus she furnished Anne Boleyn with a stepmother, to whom "there is reason to believe Anne was tenderly attached" and by whom she was "much beloved." Other writers have followed Miss Strickland's mistake. But, apart from the constant allusions in contemporary documents to Lady (or Dame) Boleyn after 1512, and subsequently to Lady Wiltshire, as Anne's mother, we cannot get away from the fact that the Lady Wiltshire who died on April 3rd, 1538, was interred in the Howard aisle of Lambeth church four days later. In the Record Office there is preserved a letter

* See Appendix C.

from one John Husee to Lady Lisle, dated April 9th, 1538, which says, "My Lady Wiltshire was buried at Lamehithe on the 7th;" and there was formerly on a tomb in the Howard aisle the inscription, "Elizabeth Howard, some time Countess of Wiltshire."

We may dismiss Anne Boleyn's stepmother, therefore, as a fiction, and restore a mother, daughter of one and sister of another Duke of Norfolk, who survived her daughter by nearly two years. With regard to her character, we have really no authentic information; but her notions of maternal responsibility would certainly seem to have been lax, though in that respect she was not a rare exception in her times.

It is a fact that, as Miss Strickland says, Sir Thomas Boleyn's name is never mentioned in the "Howard-book." The book referred to is an account-book at Tendring Hall, Suffolk, the chief country residence of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, afterward third Duke of Norfolk. Amongst other details recorded in this book were the names of presumably all the visitors to the house between 1513 and 1524, when the Earl succeeded to the dukedom. If the list of names is complete, then the Boleyns never visited Tendring Hall during the whole of the eleven years. But this is very far from showing that Sir Thomas Boleyn's absence was due to the fact that his wife had died and he had remarried. It is abundantly clear that there was an antipathy between the brothers-in-law, and that the Duke of Norfolk was subsequently at enmity not only with his sister's husband, but also with at least one of her children. This will appear later; but we may quote here what Norfolk wrote when he was a prisoner in the Tower in 1546 and was only

saved from execution by the death of Henry VIII. Addressing the Lords of the Council, Norfolk then said: "What malice both my nieces that it pleased the King's Highness to marry did bear me is not unknown to such Lords as kept them in this house, as my Lady ——, my Lady Tyrwhitt, my Lady Kingston and others; which heard what they said of me." Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard had truly little cause to love their uncle, well described in the "Dictionary of National Biography" as "hot-tempered, self-seeking and brutal."

It is not improbable that a difference of religious views alienated the Boleyns and Norfolk. Of Thomas Boleyn, his son George, and the more celebrated of his daughters we know that they, for one cause or another, developed sympathy with the Reformers. Norfolk was a steadfast supporter of the Church; though, as we shall see, he allowed himself great latitude of speech concerning the Pope. Lady Boleyn's attitude is a matter of conjecture; but her close association with Anne for so many years of her life makes it seem probable that she inclined rather to her husband's opinions than to her brother's. The attack upon her reputation made by Nicholas Sanders encourages this view.

CHAPTER II

ANNE'S EARLY DAYS

FOR the first seven years of her life at least, we hear nothing concerning Anne Boleyn. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who published his "Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth" in 1649, and, therefore, was very far from being a first-hand authority, preserves what we may, perhaps, call the Elizabethan tradition of Anne's early years. "This Gentlewoman," he says, "was from her childhood of that singular beauty and towardnesse that her Parents took all care possible for her good education. Therefore, besides the ordinary parts of vertuous instructions, wherewith shee was liberally brought up, they gave her teachers in playing on musicall Instruments, singing and dancing; Insomuch that when she composed her hands to play and voice to Sing, it was joyned with that sweetnesse of countenance that three harmonies concurr'd; likewise, when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to Rest or Motion."

That Anne Boleyn had a taste for music (which was, no doubt, part cause of Henry's attraction to her) and was a good dancer, is supported from other sources; and we may accept Lord Herbert's rather flowery description as in the main correct. We have not,

however, much that throws light on "the ordinary parts of vertuous instructions, wherewith shee was liberally brought up." Such of her letters as survive, apart from the very early one in French which is quoted below, seem to indicate ability of expression with the pen; and, seeing that she received her finishing education at the polished Court of France, we may presume that she was fully up to the standard of her age when she returned to England, whatever her attainments had previously been.

With the advent of the year 1514 the perplexities with regard to Anne's early life thicken. Her father had been making steady progress in his career. In 1511 he was appointed Governor of Norwich Castle, in conjunction with Sir Henry Wyatt. In 1512 he was sent on a mission to the Low Countries with the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Young, and Sir Robert Wingfield, in connection with the scheme for an alliance with the Emperor Maximilian against France. In Brussels Boleyn met that remarkable woman, the twice-widowed Margaret of Austria, who governed the Low Countries for her father, and who wrote to him in October mentioning the visit of the "sieur de Boullan" and his two colleagues. The upshot of this meeting was that Boleyn arranged to place one of his daughters with the Princess Margaret; and a letter of the Princess's is preserved, in which she speaks of this daughter's arrival in Brussels:

"I have received your letter by the Esquire Bouton, who presented to me your daughter, who was very welcome to me, and I hope to treat her in such a fashion that you will have reason to be content with

it ; at least be sure that until your return there need be no other intermediary between you and me than she ; and I find her of such good address and so pleasing in her youthful age that I am more beholden to you for having sent her to me than you are to me."*

In a list of the maids of honour to Margaret of Austria the name of "Bullan" occurs. It has been assumed by some writers that this was none other than Anne Boleyn ; but that is only probable if Anne was Boleyn's elder daughter and born before the date assigned by Camden and Clifford ; and, even then, it would be very strange that none of her contemporaries mention a sojourn with the celebrated Margaret of Austria, whereas so many references exist to her education in France. It seems better to suppose that it was Mary Boleyn who went to Brussels, some time after her father's return to England.

In 1513 Sir Thomas accompanied Henry VIII. to the war in France, taking with him a retinue of men ; and when peace came about further honours awaited him and his family. Part of the price of peace was the marriage of the King's sister Mary to the old King Louis XII. of France. Mary asked Boleyn that one of his daughters should go in her suite to France, and he wrote in all haste to Margaret of Austria. This letter, dated from "the Royal Court of Grynewiche," August 14th, 1514, has been preserved, and is a very curious document, in very curious French.† Boleyn says that his *treschiere et tres*

* A. J. G. Le Glay, "Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche." Le Glay gives no date for this extract. He also mentions the list of the maids of honour.

† See Appendix D.

redoubtee dame will be very pleased to know the sister of the King his master, Madame Marie, Queen affianced of France, desires to have with her his daughter, *la petitte boulain*, who is at present with her, and therefore he very humbly begs his *tres redoubtee dame* to be pleased to give and grant his daughter leave to return with his people whom he has sent to her.

La petitte boulain must have hurried over from Brussels to England on receipt of this letter, for in October, 1514, Mary Tudor left Dover for France, and in her suite was a Boleyn. The list of "Gentlewomen which were appointed to have abidden in France with the French Queen" reads as follows:

"Dame —— Guylford, lady of honor, Lady Elizabeth Grey, Eliz. Ferrys, M. Ann Devereux, —— Grey of Wilton, M. Boleyne, M. Wotton, Alice Denys and Anne Jerningham, chamberers."

Again, a list of those who were retained by the old King to do service to his wife when, on the day after their marriage, he dismissed the rest of her suite, shows the following six names:

"Mesdemoiselles Grey, Mary Finis, Elizabeth [Grey], Madamoyselle Boleyne, Maistres Anne Jenyngham, *femme de chambre*, and Jeanne Barnesse, *chamberiere*."

The poor new Queen of France was very distressed at this dismissal of her ladies, and wrote to her brother that she had lost all "except such as never had experiens nor knowlech how to advertyse or gyfe me counsell yn any tyme of nede," particularly lamenting the departure of "my mother Guldeford" (Dame or Lady Jane Guildford), whom Henry and Cardinal Wolsey had advised her to consult in everything.

From a painting, of the French School, in the National Gallery.

MARY TUDOR, THE FRENCH QUEEN.

[*To face p.* 14.

An amusing letter has been preserved,* in which the Earl of Worcester writes to give Louis's explanation of the dismissal, as made to him. If his wife needed counsel or to be ruled, the King said, he was able to do it. As soon as Lady Guildford landed in France, she began to take upon her not only to rule the Queen, but also to prevent her coming to him except in the presence of herself. So she began to "set a murmur and banding among ladies of the Court." Never man better loved his wife, declared Louis, but before he would have such a woman about her he would liefer be without her!

So the six names in the second list above are those of the less experienced in Queen Mary's original suite. Who, then, was the "Madamoyselle Boleyne," who was among those exempted from Louis's ban upon his wife's gentlewomen? Apparently the same as *la petitte boulain*, who had been fetched from Brussels to attend on Mary Tudor. Now we have seen reason to believe that it was Mary Boleyn who went to the Court of Margaret of Austria; and therefore we might assume that it is she whose name appears in the two lists quoted. As a matter of fact, we do know that Mary Boleyn was in France in her youth. This question was settled definitely by Professor James Gairdner's discovery of a letter written on March 10th, 1536, from the Bishop of Faenza, papal nuncio in France, reporting to Rome certain scandal about the English Court, in which he said that "that woman" (Anne Boleyn) had pretended to have miscarried of a son when she was not really with child at all, and

* Both these letters are printed in Ellis's "Original Letters," the Queen's in 1st Series, Vol. I., Worcester's in 2nd Series, Vol. I.

that to keep up the deceit she would allow no one to attend on her but her sister, whom the French King knew when she was in France *per una grandissima ribalda et infame sopra tutte.* The Bishop was not telling the truth about the miscarriage; but that is no reason for doubting him when he says that Mary Boleyn had been known at the French Court.

Nevertheless, a strong attempt has been made to identify the "Madamoyselle Boleyne" who accompanied Mary Tudor in 1514 with Anne. Certainly the evidence looks good. A verse "Epitre" relating to the trial and execution of Anne appeared in manuscript just after her death in 1536, though it was not printed till nine years later. In this the author, who is supposed to be L. D. Carles, Bishop of Riez, says that it is well known that "Anne Boullant first left this country [England] when Marie departed from it to go to seek the King in France, to accomplish the alliance between the two Kings."

Then a sixteenth century writer, Charles de Bourgeville, who wrote a sort of diary under the name of "Recherches et Antiquités de la Province de Neustrie," published in 1583, mentions in an entry for the year 1533 "a lady named Anne Boullene who had been brought up in France and came there when King Louis XII. married Queen Marie, sister of the King of England."

Finally, Lord Herbert says of Anne:

"She had liv'd some time in France, whither, in the Train of the French Queen and company of a sister of the Marquis Dorset, shee went Anno Domini 1514."

And again:

"Mistris Anne Bolen went to France with Mary

the French Queen 1514 (as is proved by divers principal Authors, both English and French, besides the Manuscripts I have seen)."

A solution of the difficulty has been proposed, that both sisters went to France in 1514, but that only the elder was included among the Queen's gentlewomen, the other being too young to hold such a position. Alternatively, it is suggested that Anne really went later, but that there was quite early a confusion between the dates of their visits, so that Mary's date was erroneously attributed to Anne.

It might appear that all this discussion about the identity of the " Madamoyselle Boleyne " who attended Mary Tudor is superfluous ; but it will be seen that it is of the utmost importance to the character of Anne that she should not be called upon to bear the load of her sister's misdeeds, which her enemies did their best to make her bear.

There is in existence an actual letter written by Anne to her father, and preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (to which it was bequeathed by her chaplain), in which Anne seems to allude to an impending visit to the French Court. It is, unfortunately, undated, but is obviously a childish production, written in extraordinary French, with evidence from the spelling of having been taken down by Anne from dictation by the person who is called by her Semmonet. She writes :

" Sir,—I understand by your letter that you desire that I shall be a worthy woman when I come to the Court and you inform me that the Queen will take the trouble to converse with me, which rejoices me much to think of talking with a person so wise and worthy. This will make me have greater desire to

continue to speak French well and also spell, especially because you have so enjoined it on me, and with my own hand I inform you that I will observe it the best I can. Sir, I beg you to excuse me if my letter is badly written, for I assure you that the orthography is from my own understanding alone, while the others were only written by my hand, and Semmonet tells me the letter but waits so that I may do it myself, for fear that it shall not be known unless I acquaint you, and I pray you that the light of [?] may not be allowed to drive away the will which you say you have to help me, for it seems to me that you are sure [??] you can, if you please, make me a declaration of your word, and concerning me be certain that there shall be neither [??] nor ingratitude which might check or efface my affection, which is determined to [?] as much unless it shall please you to order me, and I promise you that my love is based on such great strength that it will never grow less, and I will make an end to my [?] after having commended myself right humbly to your good grace. Written at [? Veure] by

" Your very humble and very obedient daughter,

" Anna de Boullan."

The translation is, naturally, conjectural in parts.* The place from where the letter was written, apparently Veure, has been assumed to be Hever, though Professor Gairdner has suggested V eure (5 *heures*), five o'clock.

Whatever help this letter gives us as showing that Anne Boleyn, at an early age, was going to meet

* See Appendix D for the French.

the French Queen, it does not aid us to determine the year or the occasion. It is consistent with the supposition that she went to Mary Tudor in France at the age of seven ; but it does not preclude the possibility of her having gone later. What is certain is that, if she went to Mary in France, she must have gone in 1514, for at the very beginning of 1515 Louis XII. died, and Mary returned to England with the task of reconciling her brother to her sudden secret marriage to the man of her heart, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

The "Epitre" in verse, which appeared immediately after Anne's death, says that when the widowed Queen Mary returned to England Anne was kept in France by the new Queen, Claude, wife of Francis I. Similarly Lord Herbert of Cherbury says that she was "received in a place of much honour with the other Queen."

Now we come to the testimony, if such it may be called, of Nicholas Sanders, styled by an opponent, not unjustly, "Dr. Slanders," who refrained from no evil-speaking which might damage the reputation of Queen Elizabeth and her mother. In his Latin tract, "De Origine Schismatis Anglicani," he says that at the age of *fifteen** Anne Boleyn had so dis-

* This figure is interesting in view of Sanders's amiable theory, which he adopted even if he did not invent, that Anne Boleyn was really a daughter of Henry VIII., not of Thomas Boleyn. Now Henry was only born in 1491 ; so that Sanders, by making Anne go to France at the age at which we know she really left that country, makes his theory still more grotesque. David Lewis, Sanders's editor in 1877, evidently saw the difficulty of reconciling Anne's age with the theory, for he put the date of Anne's birth as late as 1510 or 1511, which would make her visit to France as late as 1525 or 1526—a beautiful example of ingenuity (?) defeating itself ! See what is said in the Preface with regard to religious rancour and the perversion of Tudor history.

graced herself by profligacy at home that she was sent to France and at the expense of the King [Henry VIII.] placed under the care of a certain nobleman at a place which has variously been rendered by Sanders's translators as Brie and Briare. Soon afterwards, he continues, she appeared at the French Court, where he relates that her shameless behaviour got her the name of "the English mare," etc., and then, after alleging an intimacy with King Francis, he concludes: "She embraced the heresy of Luther to make her life and opinions consistent." Truly the scorpion's sting is in the tail!

Sanders lived from 1527 to 1581, and was nine when Anne was executed. He could not, therefore, and did not, claim first-hand knowledge of what he was writing about the unhappy lady. The character of his aspersions on her is such as to arouse wonder that any unprejudiced reader could pay attention to them. Yet historians claiming to be above prejudice have given them credence, so that it has been necessary to refer to them here. It remains to be seen what made it possible for the story of Anne's conduct in France to be so put about.

We cannot well rescue the character of Mary Boleyn, though a still existing letter by her, quoted later on, indicates a not altogether unamiable personality. But there is the evidence of the Bishop of Faenza, written as early as March, 1536, as to her bad character when at the French Court; and there is the fact of her relations with Henry VIII., which we must apparently accept on his own confession. If what the Bishop wrote had at least a grain of truth in it, it is easy to see that Sanders may have transferred his

story of "the English mare" from Mary to Anne, not being concerned to attack the less famous sister, but eager to seize on any weapon against Anne.

Mary Boleyn had left France by February, 1520, for on the 4th of that month she was married to William Carey, a grandson of the Devonshire knight Sir William Carey, who was beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury, and a gentleman of King Henry's privy chamber. In the King's Book of Payments for the month we find a quaint entry, "The King's offering on Saturday [4th February], at the marriage of Mr. Care and Mary Bullayn, 6s. 8d."* At the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in the same year, the list of Squires for the Body to the King included "Wm. Carey in the Inner Chamber," while "Mistress Cary" was in attendance upon Queen Katharine.

Thus one of Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughters, whom we would naturally take to be the elder, was provided for in England. The other remained in France. Queen Claude of France, as Mr. Friedmann points out, was a very good woman, who took pleasure in superintending the education of girls and had large numbers of them at Court, under the tuition of the best masters. With her, according to the verse "Epitre," Anne "so improved her graces that you would never have judged her English in her fashions, but native French." How long she remained with Claude we do not know; but Lord Herbert records that she went from her to the Duchess of Alençon —the famous Marguerite de Valois, sister of King

* Another curious entry is in the King's Book of Payments for 1519: "To young Carre, on Twelfth Eve, playing money for the King, 1000 cr., at 4s. 2d."

Francis—"where she stayed until some difference grew between our King and Francis; therefore, as saith Du Tillet, and our Records, about the time when our Students at Paris were remanded she likewise left France." We find, indeed, Francis writing in January, 1522, that the English seemed by various indications to be intending war with France, and that the English scholars at Paris and the daughter of "Mr. Boullan" had returned to their own country.*

There is little more known in connection with Anne's stay in France. Her father in 1518 was on a mission to France, and near the beginning of 1519 he was appointed English Ambassador to that country, from which he did not return until the following March, after his other daughter's marriage to Carey. He was again in France for the Field of the Cloth of Gold, as were Lady Boleyn, in attendance upon the Queen, and the Careys. Anne must have seen something of her family during these visits. Some writers indeed, rejecting the story that she went to the French Court in 1514, would make out that she was taken over by her father in 1518 or 1519; but we have seen the evidence in favour of the date 1514.

In 1520 we hear of a scheme to marry the son of the Earl of Ormonde to the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn—which daughter must be Anne, for it was in September that Henry VIII. himself wrote to the Earl of Surrey in Ireland on the subject; and Mary Boleyn, we know, was already disposed of in February. The Earl of Ormonde in question was the former Sir Piers Butler. His kinsman, the seventh Earl, Anne's great-grandfather, had died in 1515, and the daughters,

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. III., 1994.

Dames Anne St. Leger and Margaret Boleyn, had a dispute with Sir Piers, who as heir-male claimed the title. He also seized the Irish estates, to which they asserted their rights as co-heiresses of their father. Now Sir Piers was looked upon by the English Government as useful in the struggle with "the wild Irish," and for that reason they were unwilling to take too much notice of his high-handed conduct, preferring to try diplomacy. Whether it was Surrey or the King himself who first conceived the scheme, Henry in September, 1520, asked Surrey to ascertain whether the Earl of Ormonde was minded to make the marriage. He would himself advance the matter with Sir Thomas Boleyn. In the following month Surrey and the Council of Ireland wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, expressing their opinion that the marriage would be advantageous. The young James Butler was in England; but, as Anne was still in France, they did not meet. An interval occurs in the correspondence. In November, 1521, Wolsey wrote from France to the King, saying that on his return he would talk with him how to bring the match about, which would be a good pretext for delaying to send the Earl's son back to Ireland. (He was, no doubt, useful as a hostage for his father's good behaviour.) After this we only find one more allusion to the project, to which we shall come later; but it was not necessarily dropped yet. Early in 1523, however, it must have been definitely shelved, as Piers Butler then, according to a letter from the Earl of Kildare to Henry VIII., made bonds with his former enemies among the Irishry and intended to maintain his title to the earldom, right or wrong. He was no longer to be kept quiet by the bait of a match for his son.

That King Henry, apart from the diplomatic side of the matter, took considerable interest in the domestic affairs of his subject, Sir Thomas Boleyn, is obvious. But it must be remembered that Sir Thomas was a favourite of his from the beginning of his reign, and that he had already entrusted him with several missions of importance. The marks of favour were to be still more notably shown in the next few years; and unhappily it cannot be believed that they were unconnected hereafter with the King's attentions first to one daughter and then to the other. Wolsey's solicitude as to Anne's marriage was due, no doubt, to the position which he saw the father to hold in the King's esteem. Also Sir Thomas was associated with him in his French mission in 1521.* The great Cardinal had ample occasion to rue later that he had not succeeded in bringing about the Butler–Boleyn match.

* On the relations between Sir Thomas Boleyn and the Cardinal, there is an instructive letter in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. III., No. 223, in which Boleyn, then on embassy in France, shows great anxiety lest in his absence someone else should secure the coming vacancy in the treasurership of the household, which he maintains to have been promised to him by the King. He asks Wolsey to consider what a discouragement it will be to him and his friends, to whom he has disclosed his hopes, if he is thus disappointed. He points out that if his absence is a bar to his holding the post he had better have stayed at home, and supposes that Wolsey has perceived some fault in him and therefore will promote a worthier man! Boleyn ultimately got the post, but not until it had been held for a brief while by another.

From the portrait by Holbein.

THOMAS BOLEYN, AFTERWARDS EARL OF WILTSHIRE AND ORMONDE.

[*To face p.* 24.

CHAPTER III

AT THE COURT OF ENGLAND

ANNE BOLEYN, if the date we have accepted for her birth be correct, was only fifteen when she came home to England. Very soon after she is found taking part in a Court revel, for which the bill is preserved in the Record Office.* A very remarkable revel it appears to have been. It was held in "the manor of York"—Cardinal Wolsey's house, York Place, Westminster—on March 4th, 1522, and boats were employed to bring the materials for it to the Cardinal's and back again. The principal feature was a pageant, for which was constructed a castle, called in the manuscript, the "Schatew vert," the base of which was of timber, but the battlements of green tinfoil, while two reams of green paper were used for covering the castle, etc. Items in the cost were hundreds of nails varying from 3d. to 5d. the 100; 800 tacks at 1d. the 100; nearly 18lb. of verdigris at 10d. a lb.; 5 gallons of vinegar for tempering the verdigris, at 3d. the gallon; 8 quarters of coal at 4½d. a quarter, for heating the colours and "drying the pageant;" and so on. The workmen's wages for building the castle between February 20th and March 4th were: carpenters and painters 8d. and 6d., labourers 5d. a day; and the barge, with four oars

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. III., pages 1558–9.

and a steersman, to carry the pageant, cost 13s. 4d. for two days and two nights.

Curious also are the items for the ladies' dresses. One tradesman supplied 24 yards of fine yellow satin, at 8s., for making 192 "resuns" for their garments, and 8 cauls of Venice gold for their heads, at 8s. each. The accounts rather mysteriously state that "these things remain with the French Queen, the Countess of Devonshire, Mistress Anne Boleyn, Mistress Karre [probably Mary Carey], Mistress Parker [Anne's future sister-in-law]" and three others. The "French Queen" is Mary, now wife of the Duke of Suffolk, who was still styled in official documents Queen Dowager of France. Anne was, therefore, one of the seven ladies who took part with her former patron in one of the scenes of the pageant. Whether they danced, in their clothes with the yellow satin "resuns" and their cauls of Venice gold, does not appear; but there was a platform for the musicians in the castle. It is recorded that eight other silk cauls of divers colours, at 2s. 8d. each, were supplied; and unfortunately of these three were "lost by the children of my Lord's chapel, by casting down out of the castle," which seems to show that the choristers—"twelve singing children" Cavendish tells us that the Cardinal had in his chapel—grew merry.

The holding of the revel at York Place need cause no surprise, for Cavendish (who was a gentleman usher to Wolsey, and supplies many invaluable details of the events of his career) records that Henry VIII. used "to repair unto the Cardinal's house . . . divers times in the year," and that "banquets were set forth, with masks and mummeries, in so gorgeous

a sort and costly manner that it was a heaven to behold."

It is perhaps time now to give some description of Anne, though not all the statements brought together are applicable to her in 1522. First we may take the hostile Sanders. He says :

"Anne Boleyn was rather tall of stature, with black hair and an oval face of a sallowish complexion, as if troubled with jaundice. She had a projecting tooth under the upper lip, and on her right hand six fingers. There was a large wen under her chin, and therefore to hide its ugliness she wore a high dress covering her throat. . . . She was handsome to look at [he continues somewhat surprisingly], with a pretty mouth, amusing in her way, playing well on the lute, and was a good dancer. She was the model and mirror of those at Court, for she was always well dressed and every day made some change in the fashion of her garments."

We take next the description by George Wyatt in "Some Particulars of the Life of Queen Anne Boleigne," written towards the end of the sixteenth century.* Wyatt was a son of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, and thus a grandson of Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet, Anne's warm admirer, who ran some risk of losing his head for her sake in 1536. George Wyatt in his youth had collected notes concerning Anne, "not without an intent to have opposed Sanders." The

* It is readily accessible in S. W. Singer's edition of Cavendish's "Life of Cardinal Wolsey," Vol. II., page 179.

poet, no doubt, helped to inspire his grandson's enthusiasm for her. The description runs :

" In this noble imp the graces of nature graced by noble education seemed even at the first to have promised bliss unto her aftertimes. She was taken at that time [*sc.*, when she first came to Court] to have a beauty not so whitely as clear and fresh above all we may esteem, which appeared much more excellent by her favour passing sweet and cheerful ; and these, both also increased by her noble presence of shape and fashion, representing both mildness and majesty more than can be expressed. There was found, indeed, upon the side of her nail upon one of her fingers some little show of a nail, which yet was so small, by the report of those that have seen her, as the workmaster seemed to leave it an occasion of greater grace to her hand, which, with the tip of one of her other fingers, might be and was usually by her hidden without any least blemish to it. Likewise there were said to be upon some parts of her body certain small moles incident to the clearest complexions."

Another testimonial to Anne's looks is given by John Barlow, dean of Westbury, who was chaplain to Thomas Boleyn about the time when Anne began to be prominent at Court. In June, 1532, one Heylwigen, of the Emperor's Council in Brabant, met him at supper at the porter's lodge of the castle of Louvain. They discussed the two ladies for whom King Henry had shown such admiration, Anne Boleyn and Lady Tailebois. On Heylwigen asking Barlow whether he knew them and whether they were beautiful,

worth the King leaving his wife for, Barlow replied that he knew them both, and that Lady Tailebois was eloquent, gracious and beautiful; but the other was more beautiful still.*

An Italian critic, writing of her in 1532, finds her "not one of the handsomest women in the world . . . of middling stature, dark complexion, long neck, wide mouth, not very full bosom . . . eyes black and beautiful."†

Other references to Anne's appearance at some particular period will be found in their due place. From all that we read we can have no doubt that she was dark, both in hair and complexion, bearing out the lines about her attributed to King Francis I.:

"Vénus était blonde, l'on m'a dit:
L'on voit bien qu'elle est brunette."

The portrait of Anne Boleyn in the National Portrait Gallery supports what Sanders says of her oval face. The projecting tooth is not shown in this (though it is true that one would not expect it to be), nor is it mentioned by anyone except Sanders. The "six fingers on the right hand" are clearly derived from the slight deformity of one nail, of which Wyatt speaks; and the "wen" is, no doubt, the exaggeration of a mole. We hear nowhere else of a high dress covering her throat.

Moderately tall, therefore, and dark, with a good complexion and fine eyes, we may assume Anne Boleyn to have been, and her hair among her chief attractions; for both when she was created Marchioness

* Ortiz to the Emperor, June 16th, 1532. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.")

† "Calendar of Venetian State Papers," Vol. IV., page 365.

of Pembroke and at her coronation she wore it flowing. She was a strong contrast to Queen Katharine, whom she was destined to supplant. The latter was rather short, and inclined to be corpulent as she grew older. Her hair was fair, in spite of her Spanish extraction, and her complexion light. The difference between the two women probably had much influence with the King, as he tired of Katharine, six years his senior, and already in her thirty-seventh year at the time when Anne Boleyn returned to England.

It is unnecessary to say, however, that it was not the attraction of Anne that began the estrangement of Henry from his first wife. Long before Anne's appearance at Court, he had entered into his intrigue with Eleanor Blount, Lady Tailebois, who in 1519, bore him a son, Henry Fitzroy, afterwards Duke of Richmond, and thus gave him a satisfaction which poor Katharine, in spite of five confinements, had been unable to give him. The affair with Mary Boleyn, to mention no other (since this work is not a record of the amours of Henry VIII.), preceded the King's infatuation with her sister. The period of that affair is uncertain ; but it may have begun soon after Mary's marriage with "young Carey," of his privy chamber, as Mary then appears to have been attached to the Queen's household, accompanying Katharine, as we have seen, to the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The fact of Mary's relations with the King was made to assume a place of much importance in the last agony of her sister at the Tower ; but how that came about may be left to be related in its proper place.

We have seen the appearance of Mistress Anne

Boleyn at the revel at York Place in March, 1522, attested by a still existing document of the time. Then she disappears again, with no further clue as to how or whither she went than is afforded by Cavendish, the gentleman usher and biographer of Cardinal Wolsey. Fortunately we have no reason to doubt Cavendish's general good-faith in his account of the matter ; and it is possible to make the account square, as regards dates, with what seems to be the likely course of Anne's life following her return from France.

Cavendish, moralizing on the downfall of his master, after his attainment of that splendid position of whose pomps and luxuries he gives so vivid a picture, conjectures that Fortune "began to wax something wroth with the Cardinal's prosperous estate, and thought she would devise a means to abate his high port ; wherefore she procured Venus, the insatiate goddess, to be her instrument."

Then Cavendish introduces Anne Boleyn, who, he says, "being very young, was sent into the realm of France," and, being again with her father, was through his means "admitted to be one of Queen Katharine's maids, among whom, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, she did excel all other "—with the result that the King was smitten by her, though this was not at first known to anyone, hardly even by herself.

Now Cardinal Wolsey had in his household, as was the custom dating back from much earlier times in the households of great ecclesiastics, a certain number of "young Lords," who lived with him nominally as pages or servitors, but largely in fact for purposes of education. Among these was Lord Henry Algernon

Percy, son of the fifth Earl of Northumberland. In 1522, this young man was probably about twenty years of age. When the Cardinal went to Court, Cavendish relates, Henry Percy used to accompany him, and "would resort for his pastime unto the Queen's chamber and there fall into dalliance with the Queen's maidens." He became better acquainted with Mistress Anne Boleyn than with the rest, and at length such love grew up that they "insured together, intending to marry."

The matter came to the King's ears, and he was much offended. Cavendish asserts that he was now unable to hide his own secret affection for the maid, and spoke to the Cardinal as to the breaking of the "precontract" between Percy and Anne Boleyn. Wolsey called Percy to him in the gallery of York Place, and in the presence of "his servants of his chamber" (who included Cavendish himself), rated him for his peevish folly in tangling himself with a foolish girl of the Court, mentioning her by name. With many words he pointed out to the young man the wrong he had committed, and warned him that neither his father, the Earl of Northumberland, nor the King would permit the match. His Majesty, in fact, "intended to have preferred Anne Boleyn to another person," with whom he had already discussed the matter and with whom he had almost come to an agreement. "Although she knoweth it not," added Wolsey, "yet hath the King, most like a politic and prudent prince, conveyed the matter in such sort that she, upon the King's motion, will be, I doubt not, right glad and agreeable to the same."

Percy, "all weeping," protested that he had known

nothing of the King's wishes, that he thought himself of age to provide himself with a wife, and that the lady was of right noble parentage. He besought the Cardinal's aid on his behalf with the King.

When Wolsey appealed to the company standing round against "this wilful boy," and told him that he expected entire submission, Percy replied that he had gone so far and before so many worthy witnesses (in the matter of the precontract) that he did not know how to discharge his conscience if he obeyed.

Did he think, asked Wolsey, that the King and he (not *ego et rex meus* this time !) did not know what to do in so weighty a matter ? And when Percy promised to submit to the King's will, if only his conscience could be eased in the matter of the precontract, the Cardinal announced that he would send for the Earl of Northumberland from the North. In the meantime he commanded him, in the King's name, not to presume once to resort into *her* company, if he intended to avoid His Majesty's high indignation.

The Earl of Northumberland came to London in answer to the summons, and called at once upon the Cardinal, with whom he had a long secret talk and a cup of wine. Then the Earl had an interview with his son, before the Cardinal's attendants, as Cavendish avers. Addressing him as a "proud, presumptuous, disdainful and very unthrift waster," Northumberland threatened to cut him off from the succession for the crime he had committed—the crime of having risked bringing on his father the King's displeasure and indignation, which were "sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter subversion and dissolution !" He appealed to those round to be friends to his son

and tell him his fault; and then, turning to Percy again, he bade him see that he did his duty.

The contract was then undone, Cavendish says, "wherewith Mistress Anne Boleyn was greatly offended, saying that if it lay ever in her power she would work the Cardinal as much displeasure." He also says: "Even as my Lord Percy was commanded to avoid her company, even so she was commanded to avoid the Court and sent home to her father for a season, whereat she smoked [*i.e.*, fumed, raged]: for all this while she knew nothing of the King's intended purpose."

We can only reject Cavendish's story if we believe him to have invented the scenes of which he professed to be an eye-witness; and the reading of his "Life of Cardinal Wolsey" does not inspire us with distrust. We may be allowed to doubt, however, whether Henry VIII. paid any attention to Anne Boleyn at so early a period. It is possible that Cavendish, knowing Anne's subsequent history when he wrote the "Life," imputed a motive to the King which did not exist in 1522. We have seen that Henry had been interested in a scheme to marry Anne to young James Butler, and it is likely that the disregarding of this project was what annoyed the "politic and prudent prince."

A point which Cavendish does not mention is that Henry Percy was not free to engage himself to Anne Boleyn, his father having (as early, it is said, as 1516) arranged with the Earl of Shrewsbury to marry him to Mary Talbot, Shrewsbury's daughter; but this need not have prevented Percy from contracting himself to Anne, though such contract might be illegal by the law of the day.

It is a curious thing that the question of a "pre-contract" between Anne and Henry Percy came up again. After he had been forced to break with her, he was given duties in the north of England, becoming in October, 1522, Deputy Warden of the Marches, which effectually removed him from the dangerous neighbourhood of Mistress Anne. At the end of 1523 or in the following year he obeyed his father's wishes by marrying Mary Talbot. The union was a most unhappy one, and his wife left him, to return to her father, and to become his bitter enemy. After he had become sixth Earl of Northumberland, in 1527, there was no closing of the breach. In 1532 she brought up the subject of the precontract with Anne Boleyn, and her father mentioned it to the Duke of Norfolk, with the result that the Earl of Northumberland very solemnly denied the accusation. Again in 1536 the question arose, when, as we shall see, Northumberland repeated to Cromwell his denial of a precontract. The passage of years, perhaps, made a difference in the aspect with which Northumberland looked upon his engagement with Anne Boleyn.

The whole episode appears as an innocent love-affair between two young people, the spoiling of which left them both aggrieved, Anne against Cardinal Wolsey and Percy against the marriage into which he was forced. He has fared rather ill at the hands of writers, both of his own period and later. He seems to have been sickly in body, and he was not strong of will, it may be admitted; but there does not appear ground for calling him worthless. Some of the early animus against him is doubtless due to his being suspected of sympathy with the Reformers. He did not pay

so dearly for that as did his youthful sweetheart in her turn.

So, very soon after her arrival at Court, Anne left again, in disgrace over an affair which her traducers have magnified into a stain on her reputation—as though it were a crime to fall in love with an honourable suitor! She went to her father's house, at Hever according to tradition, though evidence is wanting, and "smoked." Mystery involves her existence again. Bishop Burnet, in his "History of the Reformation," was of opinion that she was back in France after the end of the war and did not return finally to England until brought by her father in 1527. For this opinion he gave no authority. Evidently influenced by Burnet, Miss Strickland favoured the view that Anne revisited France in 1525 and stayed once more with the Duchess of Alençon, taking part in the fêtes at the French Court when King Francis was freed from his captivity in Spain. No traces, however, have been found of such a visit, apart from Burnet's statement, and, even if it were a fact, the interval between 1522 and 1525 remains unaccounted for.

CHAPTER IV

MISTRESS ANNE AND QUEEN KATHARINE

IN the period of Anne's disappearance from view the fortunes of the Boleyn family continued to increase. Indeed, from April, 1522, onwards, as Mr. J. S. Brewer has pointed out, honours fell thick on Sir Thomas. In that month he obtained the post he so coveted of Treasurer of the Household (of which the annual value was assessed at £1,100, in lands, wages and fees), and was also made steward of Tunbridge, master of the hunt there, constable of the castle, and chamberlain of Tunbridge, receiver and bailiff of Bradsted, and keeper of the manor of Penshurst. In 1523 he was appointed keeper of the parks of Thundersley, Essex and Westwood, Notts; and in 1524 steward of Swaffham, Norfolk. Finally, in June, 1525, when King Henry created Henry Fitzroy, his son by Lady Tailebois, Duke of Richmond, he revived for Sir Thomas's benefit the Butlers' title of Rochford, making him a Viscount, however, not a Baron.*

The astute Thomas Boleyn, a typical product of the Tudor era, was still climbing and still amassing money.

* The barony of Rochford had fallen in abeyance on the death in 1515 of Thomas, seventh Earl of Ormonde, Piers Butler only laying claim, as heir male, to the Irish title of Ormonde. Rochford Hall, Essex, had come to Boleyn through his wife, when her father died

For a man who at marriage had "only 50*l.* a year to live on," with a wife who brought him "every year a child," he had done passingly well already. He had discovered, too, that children might be a blessing; for it is impossible not to connect his accumulation of favours from the King with the fact that Henry's eyes had fallen on Mistress Carey, the former Mary Boleyn, and that she did not reject his advances, little to her own profit, it would seem, but much to her father's. That Thomas Boleyn had considerable ability need not be doubted, since he was constantly employed by the King on delicate and confidential missions abroad, as well as in his various offices at home. He was also one of Henry's regular boon-companions. But there was a dark secret behind as well, which ceased afterwards to be a secret to many people; and when Mistress Carey, in 1526, bore a son, Henry, the future Lord Hunsdon, one of Elizabeth's favourites, rumour was busy with regard to the child's paternity.

As has been said, we cannot well rescue the character of Mary Boleyn. It is clearly hopeless to attempt a defence of Sir Thomas. There is nothing, however, to connect Anne with this discreditable episode in her family's history previous to her reappearance at Court. It is all in her favour that she appears to have been out of contact with the Court at this time.

The circumstances of Anne's return to Katharine's service are obscure. Cavendish writes as if it were not long after the Percy affair that she was "revoked unto the court;" but, as he is only interested in her so far as she enters into the story of his master, Wolsey, we must not look to him for strict historical accuracy

with regard to her doings. Indeed, he gives no dates. According to Miss E. O. Benger, who wrote her "Memoirs of the Life of Anne Boleyn" a hundred years ago, local tradition at Hever then still related how Henry VIII. used to ride down to the castle on some frivolous pretext, hoping to catch sight of his subject's daughter; whereon the father, "alarmed," sedulously withdrew her from the King's view and made her keep her room, on the plea of indisposition. Legends persist a long time, it is true; but in this case it is a matter of three hundred years, and we can only accept the tale for what it is worth—which we have no means of judging. All that we do know is that she went back to Court again, at some date between 1525 and 1527, and that, according to Cavendish, she was in daily attendance upon Queen Katharine. Though she was still at first unaware of the King's great affection for her, Cavendish says, when she grew aware of it she began to look very haughty and wore all manner of jewels and rich apparel, while her influence with the King made her sought after by those who had suits to press with him. The Queen, he continues, saw how matters were going, but showed no grudge or displeasure against either. She had, indeed, "Mistress Anne in more estimation for the King's sake than before, declaring herself thereby to be a perfect Griselda."

In view of Cavendish's neglect of dates and the absence of any documentary evidence, we cannot tell how quickly the affair progressed after Anne's restoration to Court. We have now to see how it developed into an event of national concern.

The story of the divorce of Katharine of Aragon,

with the complicated intrigues and tortuous negotiations which characterized it, has been fully told in modern times, notably by Mr. M. A. S. Hume in his "Wives of Henry the Eighth," where it may be said that he does not treat Anne Boleyn with the same impartiality as he treats Katharine. His account of the beginning, growth and consummation of the idea of the divorce, however, is admirable and must be studied by all who wish to understand the underlying importance in English history of the repudiation of Katharine. He points out that if the question of religious reform had not complicated the situation and Henry, instead of marrying Anne Boleyn, had taken as his second wife some Roman Catholic princess, probably little difficulty would have been made about the divorce. Henry's wish to have a son and heir, which Katharine could not give him, was understood and indeed met with sympathy. The danger, as it seemed in the general opinion of England, of a marriage between Henry's only legitimate child, the Princess Mary, and a French prince, either Francis I. or a son, was imminent more than once. An alternative was the recognition of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, as heir, to which his father, no doubt, at one time inclined ; but his illegitimacy was a serious bar.

Had the King, then, merely followed numerous royal precedents and put Katharine aside, to replace her by another princess for the sake of continuing the dynasty, the stir would certainly have been less, though it is not probable that even then Katharine would have surrendered her position and her daughter's rights without a great struggle ; and her personal popularity, both as a representative of the anti-French

From the painting by Holbein at the New Palace at Westminster.

HENRY VIII.

[*To face p.* 40.

interests and as a charitable and merciful queen—London was devoted to her after her intercession on behalf of the riotous apprentices of May Day, 1517—would have made her cause strong in any event. But, handled tactfully, Katharine might have been persuaded in the end to retire, with some guarantee for her daughter's future. So, at least, it is possible to conjecture. She must have foreseen the likelihood of such a demand upon her when all hope of bearing a son faded away, and the King ceased to cohabit with her any longer.

It is generally said that the suggestion of a divorce first arose in 1526 or early in 1527, though the idea must surely have occurred to Henry and his advisers earlier still, Katharine being forty-one years old in 1526 and having been a wife in name only for over a year. According to Cardinal Pole, the Boleyn party suggested it first ; but Thomas Boleyn could not until later have aspired to replace Katharine by his own daughter, and it is not clear why his guiding motive of "interest" should prompt him otherwise to get rid of the Queen. Henry's own story was that the subject of the validity of his marriage with Katharine was raised by the French envoy, the Bishop of Tarbes, when he came to England in early 1527 for the betrothal ceremonies between the little Princess Mary and the widower King Francis. It was necessary, of course, that there should be no doubt about Mary's legitimacy.

If this was really the seed of Henry's alleged apprehension that his first marriage was illegal and that he had been living in "mortal sin" ever since 1509, it germinated with surprising rapidity. In April Henry

was in consultation with his advisers on the point ; and on May 17th came the meeting at York Place, where the King was cited to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Wolsey, Gardiner and others, to show the legality of his marriage. These proceedings were soon dropped. But the struggle had begun which only ended six years later, after a complete break between Henry and Rome. We shall not touch upon the steps in that struggle save where they directly concern the career of Anne Boleyn. We may stop, however, at this point to consider the character of the woman whom Anne was destined to supplant, on which the work of Mr. M. A. S. Hume has thrown so much light.

While it is impossible not to feel sympathy with Katharine of Aragon and indignation at the infamous treatment which she received at Henry's hands, at the same time it is difficult to see what claims she has to be called a saint. To be the victim of brutality and injustice is not the monopoly of saints, and does not confer sainthood, any more than to be massacred makes a martyr. From the religious-historical point of view, it would appear, a saint is a right-living pietist whose creed is the same as yours, or sufficiently like it to allow your admiration ; while a martyr is a person, not necessarily so right-living, who suffers death rather than gainsay opinions with which you are more or less in sympathy. So the list of saints and martyrs is capable of almost indefinite expansion, according to the bias of the writer. It was possible in the late Tudor times, just as to regard Katharine of Aragon as a saint, so to regard Anne Boleyn as a martyr—because her sympathies with the Reformers undoubtedly helped

in her ruin. The truth was, however, that they were both women, victims of a satyr-hearted tyrant, of whom Sir Walter Raleigh well said that, if all the patterns of a merciless prince had been lost to the world, they might have been found in this one king.

Katharine was brave, haughty, tactless, ambitious, not over-scrupulous; though excess of scruple was not to be expected of the daughter of Ferdinand and grand-daughter of John II. of Aragon. She was pious to austerity. Her life in England was a nightmare. Brought over at the age of sixteen (after infinite wranglings and prevarications over her dowry between that well-matched pair, Ferdinand and Henry VII., both clever, greedy cheats, ever suspicious of being cheated), married to the fifteen-year-old Arthur, Prince of Wales, and widowed in six months; kept in England in poverty and wretchedness (her dowry still at issue) until her second marriage in 1509, when she was twenty-four and Henry VIII. but eighteen; disappointed of a living child until she herself was thirty, and then that child a daughter; knowing her husband faithless both before and after the Princess Mary's birth; deprived of the custody of her daughter; finally—but indeed it was not finally, for worse had yet to come—middle-aged, stout and in sickly health, she found herself threatened with the humiliation of a divorce which impugned her eighteen years of married life and would make her daughter not future Queen of England, but a bastard.

In this pass she put up a gallant fight, saw the great Cardinal Wolsey fall because he could not accomplish her removal, but found the Cardinal's successors more astute than he; and, rejecting all overtures to

mitigate the circumstances of her removal from the throne, she drained the bitter cup to the dregs.

Had Anne Boleyn been really responsible for this cruel degradation of her predecessor on the throne, a heavy burden of guilt would rest upon her name. But her actual share in it was small. It is clear that, with or without the presence on the scene of Anne Boleyn, Henry was determined to change his wife. The difficulty was the choice of a successor to Katharine. Wolsey, persistent in his endeavours to strengthen the alliance with France, may have been inclined to favour a French princess, such as Renée, daughter of Louis XII. and sister-in-law of Francis. Then there might be a double bond, with Henry united to a French wife and his daughter Mary to Francis. A grave obstacle to this scheme was that, if Katharine were repudiated on the ground that she had never been Henry's lawful wife, their daughter Mary would not be legitimate, and Francis would not marry her. There was scarcely any alternative on the Continent to a French marriage for Henry, since, the Emperor Charles being Katharine's nephew, her divorce would close many doors to the King of England. The problem facing Henry was a very tangled one. But his anxiety to have a son to succeed him and his weariness of Katharine made him bent on solving it. A third motive gave him the driving power to force a solution. This was his infatuation with Anne Boleyn.

Anne's return to attend upon the Queen saw all her family directly in the Royal service. Viscount Rochford, being Treasurer of the Household, had rooms at the Palace for himself and his wife, who was still

one of Katharine's ladies. George Boleyn, probably in 1525, was appointed to the King's privy chamber, and having married Mistress Parker—Jane, granddaughter of the well-known Henry Parker, Lord Morley and Monteagle—had an extra annual allowance of £20 for the support of himself and his wife.* Of Mary, the wife of William Carey, we do not hear. She may have fallen out of the King's favour; but her husband was still at the Palace. Thus the fortunes of the Boleyns (or at least of the elder branch of the Boleyns, for Thomas had brothers, one of whom, Edward, was not unknown at Court) were all embarked on one ship. Like a dexterous pilot, Thomas, Lord Rochford, was steering that ship to his own further advancement. He had sacrificed one daughter, and was ready to sacrifice the other. Anne, however, had no notion of falling a sacrifice like her sister. She was not ambitious to become a King's mistress. Whatever view may be taken of her character, it must be admitted that she played a most difficult game with extreme skill, and only yielded when the prize was in sight. Considering that the other player was an amorous autocrat, who had power of life and death over her whole family, and that she withstood him, without losing him, for six years, Anne Boleyn's story is one of the most remarkable instances of a woman's *finesse*. The subtlety of Queen Elizabeth's character stamps her as a true daughter of her mother, whatever she may have inherited from the Tudors.

Mr. Hume suggests that it was in the spring of 1527 that the idea first came to Anne that she might become Queen of England. If so, it must indeed have been,

*See Appendix C.

as he says, secretly, for Wolsey had no intention of breaking the King's first marriage in order to replace Katharine with a Boleyn. Cavendish tells us that the Cardinal, "espying the King's great zeal" for Anne, dissembled his real feelings, and prepared great banquets and solemn feasts at York Place, at which, it is to be presumed he means, Anne was among the guests. Then "the love between the King and this gorgeous lady grew to such perfection that divers imaginations were imagined"—apparently the divorce of Katharine as a means to the elevation of Anne.

What followed is a good example of the diplomacy of the period. The situation was complicated by the fact that Pope Clement, after the capture of Rome by the Imperialists in June, 1527, was a virtual prisoner in the Emperor's hands, and therefore could hardly be expected to lend himself to a scheme for divorcing Charles's aunt. Besides, Katharine had sent her chamberlain to her nephew to warn him what was on foot and to beg his aid in preventing the injustice threatening her.

Wolsey was sent to France early in July. Cavendish sees in this a plot of the Cardinal's enemies to take him in "a brake" (snare), in which he implicates Anne. They thought they saw their time, if they could get him sent abroad and out of the King's daily presence, with Anne's aid to "deprave him so unto the King . . . that he should rather be in his high displeasure than in his accustomed favour." No doubt it was very desirable for the Boleyn party that the Cardinal should be absent from England; but he himself was anxious to get to France. Apart from the secret commission with which he was entrusted to secure

assistance there for Henry's plan of a divorce from Katharine, he wished to prosecute his schemes for uniting the Royal families of the two countries. In August he arranged with Francis at Amiens several treaties, by one of which the young Duke of Orleans was to take his father's place as Mary's betrothed.

In the matter of the divorce Wolsey also proposed to Henry to dispatch the Bishop of Worcester (Ghinucci, an Italian) to Rome, in the hope that he might secure from Pope Clement a general faculty empowering the Cardinal to exercise Papal functions in England as long as Clement remained under the Emperor's control. Henry, however, distrusted the slowness of such a procedure and evolved, or rather had suggested to him by John Barlow, then chaplain to the Boleyns, a speedier plan, which was to send his secretary, Dr. Knight, to the Pope, to try to persuade him to grant a dispensation of a remarkable character. This was to enable the King to marry again either before or after the formal dissolution of his first marriage! Such a dispensation would, of course, concede the King's point, that his marriage with Katharine had never been valid.

The scheme was not divulged to Wolsey, who, when Knight called on him on his way to Italy, was put off the scent by a story of instructions of a far less startling character. Nevertheless, he probably got wind of the danger of Henry breaking loose from his guidance and taking as his second wife, not a French princess, but Anne Boleyn. The Emperor had received not only his aunt's appeal, but also a warning from his ambassador in London, Inigo de Mendoza, that Henry was contemplating this; and it is possible

that the news reached Wolsey's ears. It was not long ago, in fact on August 1st, that he had written to the English representatives with the Emperor, instructing them to deny the rumour that Henry was seeking a divorce at all. Now the Emperor knew all, including something that Wolsey had not been prepared to believe when he left London, and perhaps now could hardly credit. He decided to return home with all speed. Before the end of September he was back in England, and on the 30th of the month he presented himself at Richmond Palace for audience of the King.

CHAPTER V

THE ROYAL LOVER

IN Wolsey's absence from England, much had happened, to which the clue is given by the extraordinary series of love-letters from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, most of which are preserved in the Vatican Library, having got thither in a manner to be discussed later. Unfortunately, none of the letters are dated, and it is only by conjecture that they can be assigned to a definite year and month. In one, which must be placed early in the series,* though indicating that the King had already gone far in his infatuation with "this gorgeous lady," Henry writes (in French, as is the case with all the letters where it is not otherwise stated):

"In turning over within me the contents of your letters, I have been in a great agony, not knowing whether to understand them to my disadvantage, as in some places I proved, or to my advantage, as in other places I understand them. I beg you with

* Possibly earlier is the more formal little note which runs:

"Though it belongs not to a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, nevertheless, following your desire, I willingly grant it if thereby I may find you less ungrateful in the place chosen by yourself than you have been in that given by me. Thanking you heartily that it pleases you yet to have some remembrance of me."

This is signed HENRY R., with some letters and figures.

great earnestness to let me know your whole intention touching the love between us : for necessity constrains me to obtain this answer, having been for more than a year smitten by the dart of love, not being sure whether I shall fail or find a place in your heart and certain affection, which last matter has hindered me for some little time from naming you my mistress ; for if you love me with no more than common love this name is not fitting for you, since it denotes a singular [?] which is far removed from the common. But if it pleases you to do the office of a true loyal mistress and friend, and to give yourself body and heart to me, who will be and have been your very loyal servant (if you do not in cruelty forbid me), I promise you that not only the name shall be yours, but also I will take you for my sole mistress, casting all others but you outside my thoughts, and will serve you alone. " H.R."

In another letter Henry begs his " mistress and friend " not to let absence lessen her affection for him. He remarks that there is brought to his mind a point of astronomy, which is that the longer the days are the further off is the sun, and yet his heat is the more fervent. So it is with their love, for though they are far apart it keeps its fervency—" at least on our side," he adds, concluding :

" Seeing that I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is my picture set in a bracelet.

" This from the hand of your loyal servant and friend. " H.R."

Possibly in answer to this, Anne sent the King a trinket, representing, in diamonds, a solitary damsel in a tossing ship, with the motto, *Aut illic aut nullibi* (There or nowhere), a fairly clear indication that she would not be contented with less than the position of wife on the throne beside him. None of her letters to him are preserved, but Henry wrote to thank her effusively, his description of the present furnishing us with its details. "I desire you," he continued, "if at any time before this I have offended you, that you shall give me the same absolution as you ask, assuring you that henceforth my heart shall be dedicated to you alone, wishing much that my body was so too, as God can make it if it pleases Him, to whom I pray once daily for that end." He signed himself "in heart, body, and will, your loyal and most assured servant," with the subscription, *H. aultre* *ne cherce R.*

At the end of July, 1527, Henry was away in the country, hunting, as we know from a communication sent by Sir William Fitzwilliam, the King's treasurer, to Wolsey in France. Writing from Beaulieu on the 31st of the month, Sir William reports that the King is keeping a very great and expensive house, among those at Beaulieu being the Duke of Norfolk and his wife, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Oxford, Essex and Rutland, Viscounts Fitzwalter and Rochford, both the ladies of Oxford, and others. "The King is merry and in good health," he says, "and hunts daily. He usually sups in his privy chamber with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, and Lord Rochford."*

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV.

To this time may be assigned Henry's letter to Anne, addressed to *ma mestres*, and reproaching her for not remembering the promise she made when he was last in her neighbourhood, to send news of herself and to let him have a reply to his last letter. As an excuse for writing, he says that he thinks it "belongs to a true servant to send to enquire of his mistress's health;" and with the letter he dispatches a buck, killed late the previous night with his own hand, hoping that when she eats of it she will remember the huntsman.

A strange letter, similarly addressed, is assigned to the same period, in which Henry writes:

"As the time has been so long since I heard of your good health and of you, the great affection I have for you has persuaded me to send this bearer, to be better informed of your health and pleasure; for since my last parting with you I have been told that the opinion in which I left you has been entirely changed, and that you will not come to Court either with your lady mother or otherwise. Which report, if true, I cannot enough marvel at, seeing that I am persuaded I have committed no offence. . . . Think well, my mistress, that your absence grieves me much, hoping that it is not your will that this should be; but if I heard for certain that you desired it of your own will, I could do no other than lament my ill-fortune and by degrees abate my great folly. . . ."

This epistle is "written by the hand of your entire servant H.R." What manner of a tiff it indicates is obscure; but at least it shows how far Anne Boleyn was from throwing herself at the King's head.

From all these letters we may gather that Henry's suit made rapid progress in the summer of 1527, though the title of "mistress" which he gives to Anne conveys no more than that she rules his heart. There is no promise in them, in so many words, to make her Queen; but that idea lies beneath them, and Anne would accept nothing less. With this in view, she had allowed herself, by the time of Wolsey's return from France, to be put in a very ambiguous position.

The scene of the Cardinal's reception at Richmond Palace is described by the Imperial Ambassador Mendoza in a letter to his master on October 26th. On arrival, he says, Wolsey sent to apprise the King, asking where and at what hour he could see him—"it being the custom that, whenever the Legate has State affairs to communicate, the King retires to a private chamber with him." Mendoza continues: "Now it happened on this occasion the lady called Anna de Bolains, who seems to entertain no great affection for the Cardinal, was in the room with the King, and, before the latter could answer the message, she said, 'Where should he come save where the King is?' This answer being confirmed by the King, the messenger went back." The Cardinal had no resource but to dissemble his resentment and have his audience in the presence of others, including the lady.

"The matter has not gone further," Mendoza tells the Emperor, "and things remain outwardly as they were." To Wolsey, however, it must have been plain that Anne's influence over the King had increased greatly since his visit to France, and that it was no passing caprice on Henry's part with which he had to

deal. His own position was at stake, unless he could win the favourite's regard. Whether or not it is true that Anne could not forgive him the part he had played in parting her from Henry Percy (in this year, 1527, become Earl of Northumberland), she certainly had no intention of treating the Cardinal as a friend. He would be a serviceable ally ; but the Boleyn party, headed by her father and at this time adhered to by her uncle Norfolk, were bent on nothing less than the Cardinal's downfall. By aiding them he was playing into their hand.

In October an important embassy from France, including the Grand Master Montmorency and John du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, came over to England to confirm the treaties made at Amiens. No doubt Anne Boleyn was at the magnificent entertainment given to the French mission at Greenwich Palace, described by Cavendish.* Wolsey had previously feasted them sumptuously at Hampton Court, and the King was determined to outdo him. The affair lasted from five in the afternoon until two or three the next morning. The programme was : dinner ; a consultation with the sagest counsellors of England ; dancing and other pastimes ; supper in the banqueting-chamber of the Tiltyard, at which actual jousts took place in the room for the amusement of the diners ; and, to wind up, a series of masques. In this closing part of the entertainment there first came in "a number of fair ladies and gentlewomen that bare any bruit or fame of beauty in all this realm, in the most richest apparel, and devised in divers goodly fashions

* Perhaps this may be identified with the revels in the Tiltyard on November 10th, 1527, for which accounts appear in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV.

that all the cunningest tailors could devise to shape or cut, to set forth their beauty, gesture, and the goodly proportion of their bodies." With these the gentlemen of France danced until another masque came in of noblemen, who took the ladies for their partners. Then followed in another masque of ladies, so gorgeously appareled that Cavendish dares not presume to describe them, lest he should deface rather than beautify them. Each of these took a French gentleman to dance with her ; and Cavendish records that they spoke good French, which " delighted much these gentlemen, to hear these ladies speak to them in their own tongue."

It is at this time that Wolsey's chronicler makes the love between the King and Mistress Anne Boleyn " break out into every man's ear." He says that the matter was then disclosed by the King to the Cardinal, by which he apparently means Henry's determination to make Anne his queen ; since he does not pretend that Wolsey was ignorant of the King's love.

The Cardinal's " persuasion to the contrary, made to the King upon his knees," was ineffectual. Here we are reminded of what Wolsey said upon his death-bed, also recorded by Cavendish, how he told Sir William Kingston, with regard to Henry : " I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite ; but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom." The Cardinal, indeed, knew his master well, both his weakness of character under strong, tactful and unintermittent guidance, and his inflexible obstinacy of purpose when his desires led him in a certain direction.

By his trip to France he had dropped the rein for nearly two months, and the Boleyn party had not failed to take advantage of it. Thomas, Viscount Rochford, naturally had pressed his own claims. At the end of December, 1527, we find the Bishop of Bayonne writing home to France that there was some talk of creating him Duke of Somerset. This was not to be; but in the same month of December, through the medium of Wolsey, articles of agreement were drawn up between Viscount Rochford and his "comparceneurs" (his aunt, Anne St. Leger, and his mother, Margaret Boleyn) on the one hand, and Sir Piers Butler on the other, following which, in February, 1528, Sir Piers agreed to the Earldom of Ormonde being at the King's disposal. Sir Piers was created Earl of Ossory and got a portion of the disputed Irish property, the rest going to Dames Anne and Margaret. Thus the way was cleared for Thomas Boleyn's eventual attainment of the title of Ormonde.

Before resuming the story of the proceedings for the divorce of Katharine of Aragon with a view to the substitution of Anne Boleyn for her as Queen of England, we have to deal with an episode in the latter's career which is puzzling as regards its date, and of which much has been made by some of her historians, with very little apparent justification.

We have had occasion already to mention both Thomas Wyatt, the poet, and his father, Sir Henry Wyatt, with whom Anne Boleyn's father had been associated in the governorship of Norwich Castle in 1511. Sir Henry was a neighbour of the Boleyns in Kent, having his seat at Allington, near Maidstone. By his wife, Anne Skinner, he had a son Thomas and

a daughter Margaret, both of whom enter into Anne's life. Thomas is supposed to have been born in 1503. Whether he made Anne's acquaintance in childhood is uncertain ; it does not appear from his own writings. He was a boy of great precocity, for he is said to have gone up to Cambridge at the age of twelve ; and to have married when he was only seventeen. His bride was Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Lord Cobham. He subsequently divorced her, but not until long after she bore him a son, Thomas Wyatt the younger, who was executed in Mary's reign.

The poet was a singularly handsome man. His warm friend and brother in poetry, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, cousin to Anne Boleyn, described his form as one where "force and beauty met," and also averred that when he died Nature lost the form of perfect manhood. Another of his poetic friends was George Boleyn, Anne's brother ; and still more intimate was Sir Francis Bryan, her cousin through the Howards. It may be noted of Wyatt, George Boleyn and Bryan alike, that they were favourites of Henry VIII., Boleyn bitterly experiencing the perils of a King's favour, and Wyatt very nearly doing so ; and also that all three were attracted by the Reform movement, Boleyn, and Bryan still more, getting thereby much obloquy from the adherents of the old faith.

From his close acquaintance with so many members of her family we should expect to find that Thomas Wyatt had met Anne Boleyn early in life. However, Wyatt's grandson writes as if Thomas first "came to behold the sudden appearance of this new beauty" when she arrived at Court. He was struck not only

by her looks but also by her witty and graceful speech, "so as finally his heart seemed to say, 'I could gladly yield to be tied for ever with the knot of her love,' as somewhere in his verses hath been thought his meaning was to express."* Anne, on the other hand, finding him to be then married and "in the knot to have been tied then ten years, rejected all his speech of love."

Thomas Wyatt, if the accepted date is correct, had not been married ten years until 1530. But Anne made no sudden appearance as a new beauty in 1530; and, as she was already before the end of 1527 candidate for the position of second wife to Henry VIII., it is obvious that George Wyatt has postdated the time of his grandfather's attraction by her. From what we know of Thomas Wyatt's life, after his accompaniment of Sir Thomas Cheyney on a mission to France in 1526 he was back in England; and if he actually went with Sir John Russell to the Papal Court in January, 1527, as the story runs, he did not remain there the whole of the year. In 1529-30 he was mostly at Calais, in connection with his post as High Marshal of the town. On the whole, 1526 or 1527, rather than 1528, when Anne was clearly destined to be Queen, seems to be the likely year of his falling in love with her. Moreover, his grandson gives another clue to the date when he says that the King first noticed Wyatt's attitude "after such time as upon the doubt of those treaties of marriage with his daughter Mary;" and that time, as we have seen, appears to have been early in 1527.

* The verses alluded to, however, talk of "her tresse . . . of cresped gold;" and Anne's hair was black.

George Wyatt's tale goes as follows. Anne was busy one day with some work (she was very skilful with her needle), when Thomas Wyatt, who was talking with her, as he was fond of doing, "in sporting wise" caught from her a certain small jewel hanging by a lace out of her pocket, which he thrust into his bosom and refused to give back. He continued to wear it about his neck, under his cassock; and Anne "seemed not to make much reckoning of it, either the thing not being much worth, or not worth much striving for." The King noted Wyatt's hovering about the lady and kept a watchful eye on him, though he found that she gave no encouragement. Then Henry, having determined to make her his wife, took a ring from her, which he wore upon his little finger. A few days after this had happened Henry was playing at bowls with the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Francis Bryan, Wyatt, and others, and in the course of the game claimed a cast to be his that to his opponents plainly appeared to be otherwise. With all deference, they told him that they did not agree with him.

The King, however, pointing at his bowl with the finger on which he wore the ring, continued to affirm that the cast was his. Addressing himself especially to Wyatt, who was on the opposite side, and smiling on him withal, he said, "Wyatt, I tell thee it is mine." The other at length gave a glance at the ring, and recognized it as Anne Boleyn's. He paused, and when Henry once more said, "Wyatt, I tell thee it is mine," replied, "And if it may like Your Majesty to give me leave to measure it, I hope it will be mine." So speaking, he took from about his neck the lace with

the trinket at the end of it, and stooped down to measure the cast with it. Henry, in his turn, recognized the trinket as having belonged to Anne, and "therewithal spurned away the bowl and said, 'It may be so, but then am I deceived'; and so broke up the game."

The King, continues the tale, went to his room, showing some discontentment in his countenance, and found means to break the matter to the lady. Anne was able to give good and evident proof how the knight* came by the jewel, and satisfied Henry so effectually that his opinion of her truth was stronger than before and proceeded soon to "discover his full and whole meaning unto the lady's father, to whom we may be sure the news was not a little joyful."

The rather ingenuous termination to the narrative need not make us mistrust what has gone before. Indeed, the incident of the game of bowls bears the stamp not of imagination but of truth, and doubtless was thus told by Thomas Wyatt himself and handed down through his son to his grandson. The same is perhaps the case also with the story of the game of cards, with which George Wyatt's manuscript continues. Queen Katharine, according to this, used to have Anne Boleyn more frequently with her at cards now, both in order that the King might have less of her company and that Anne's defect on one finger might be shown. (We need not credit this last motive.) They played some game which came to an end when the king and queen of a suit met; and it often fell to Anne to draw the king. Queen

* As a matter of fact, Wyatt was not knighted until much later.

Katharine noticed this, and remarked to her: "My Lady Anne, you have good hap to stop at a king; but you are not like the others, you will have all or none!" *Aut illic aut nullibi*, in fact; though we have no reason to suppose that Katharine had knowledge of Anne's audacious motto.

It is typical of the treatment to which Anne Boleyn's character has been submitted that this episode with Wyatt has been made the ground for accusing her of "light behaviour," or, in other words, immoral conduct. Even Mr. M. A. S. Hume, speaking of her resistance to the advances of Henry VIII., says: "She had not always been so austere, for gossip had already been busy with her good name. Percy and Sir Thomas Wyatt had both been her lovers, and with either or both of them she had in some way compromised herself." We have seen what the affair with Percy amounted to, taking it from evidence of a hostile witness. We have now seen also the Wyatt affair, as related by his grandson. The story certainly makes Thomas Wyatt to have been indiscreet, but surely does not implicate Anne. Mr. Hume, however, adduces also a statement in the "Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII.," a contemporary work which he himself has edited in English, and a letter from Eustace Chapuys, ambassador to the Emperor in 1530. The Spanish chronicler's statement we may deal with later, when we come to the time of Anne's imprisonment; the ambassador's tale is vague.*

* Chapuys merely told the Emperor that Anne had been accused by the Duke of Suffolk of undue familiarity with "a gentleman who on a former occasion had been banished on suspicion." Suffolk was no friend to Anne, resenting her pretensions to becoming Queen, when he, through his wife, stood so near to the succession.

Here we may point out that both the Spaniard and Chapuys were devoted to the cause of Katharine of Aragon and haters of Anne Boleyn, and that therefore we cannot take their repetition of a piece of gossip in Court circles as unimpeachable evidence.

We need not doubt that Wyatt was in love with Anne Boleyn. Even if we had not his grandson's testimony, there is sufficient indication of his attachment to her in his verse ;* though the poetic license to love numerous ladies must not be forgotten, and in Wyatt's case there were various other loves, real or imaginary. But to have been loved by a poet is surely not a reflection on Anne.

* In his poem "Of his Love, called Anna,"[1] the bearer of that name may reasonably be identified with her :

What word is that, that changeth not,
Though it be turn'd and made in twain ?
It is mine Anna, God it wot,
And eke the causer of my pain,
Who love rewardeth with disdain ;
Yet is it loved : what would ye more ?
It is my health, and eke my sore.

A still more striking poem is that beginning :

Whoso list to hunt ? I know where there is a hind,

of which the concluding lines are :

Who list her hunt, I put him out of doubt,
As well as I may spend his time in vain !
And graven with diamonds in letters plain
There is written her fair neck round about :
"*Noli me tangere ;* for Caesar's I am
And wild for to hold, though I seem tame."[2]

This is obviously imitated from an Italian poem by J. A. Romanello, itself an imitation from Petrarch ; but it seems too close a resemblance to Wyatt's case of "the Lover, despairing to attain unto his Lady's grace, relinquishing the pursuit,"[3] not to have some topical import. The last line, which is purely Wyatt's own, has somewhat fantastically been supposed to allude to Anne Boleyn's "levity and gaiety."[4]

From an engraving by Bartolozzi or Cadon, after Holbein's portrait at Windsor.

THOMAS WYATT.

[*To face p.* 62.

One more story from George Wyatt we may note as we leave the subject of his grandfather. Someone, he tells, sent Anne Boleyn a book of pretended old prophecies, with illustrations, in which her future fate was foretold. Opening it and looking into it, she called her maid, who bore the same Christian name as herself. "Come hither, Nan, see here a book of prophecy. This, he saith, is the King; this the Queen, mourning, weeping and wringing her hands; and this is myself, with my head off!" "If I thought that true," said the maid, "though he were an Emperor, I would not myself marry him." "Yes, Nan," replied her mistress, "I think the book a bauble. Yet, for the hope I have that the realm may be happy by my issue, I am resolved to have him whatsoever may become of me."

The reason given for Anne's determination has certainly a sound of having been invented after her daughter came to the throne. Undoubtedly, however, she was resolved to have the King for her husband. In the meantime she had resumed her duties at Court, and we get two glimpses of her in letters written by Thomas Heneage, one of the King's gentlemen, to Cardinal Wolsey. On March 3rd, 1528, Heneage relates how, as the King was going to dinner, "Mrs. Anne" spoke to himself, saying she was afraid the Cardinal had forgotten her, as he had sent her no token by his last messenger to Court. Lady Rochford had also spoken and asked for a morsel of tunny. Further, the same night the King had sent Heneage down with a dish to Mistress Anne for her supper, when she caused him to sup with her and expressed a wish that she had "some good meat from

the Cardinal, such as carps, shrimps or other." (It was Lent, and the Cardinal had some celebrated fisheries.) "I beseech Your Grace," concludes Heneage, "pardon me that I am so bold to write unto Your Grace thereof; it is the conceit and mind of a woman!"

Ten days later Heneage writes again, saying that Mistress Anne thanks His Grace for his "kind and favourable writing unto her," and desires him to appeal on behalf of Sir Thomas Cheyney, for whom she is "marvellously sorry that he should be in Your Grace's displeasure."

Clearly Anne recognized that the Cardinal was still so powerful that he must be assiduously courted.

CHAPTER VI

AWAITING THE LEGATE

SINCE Wolsey's return to England at the end of September, 1527, matters had not been going at all well for the scheme to obtain a divorce for Henry. The Cardinal had reinforced Dr. Knight, in whom he had no belief, with the aid of trained diplomatists like Sir Gregory Casale and the Prothonotary Gambara, and efforts were made to get Pope Clement to give his assent to more extraordinary things. He was to issue a commission investing Wolsey or some other Legate (not of Imperialist sympathies), or two of them together, with plenary authority to decide on the validity of Henry's first marriage ; and he was to put forth a Bull allowing the King to marry again *even within the first degree of affinity.** The significance

* The draft Bull, to be submitted to Clement, contains the words, in Latin of course : " Furthermore, to avoid all canonical objections on the side of the woman, by reason of any former contract clandestinely made, or impediment of public honesty or justice arising from such clandestine contract, or of any affinity contracted in any degree, even in the first, through illicit connection, and in the event that it has proceeded beyond the second or third degree of consanguinity, whereby otherwise you, the petitioner [*sc.*, Henry], would not be allowed to contract marriage, we hereby license you to take such woman to wife . . ." ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV., page 1637.)

The reference to "any former contract" refers, as clearly as does that to the degree of affinity, to the case of Anne Boleyn. It does not, of course, prove the precontract with Henry Percy ; but it shows how Henry's tender conscience required to be safeguarded from any possible stain !

of this latter provision is obvious when we consider that, until 1533, the date of Anne Boleyn's marriage, when the law was changed in England, no difference was made between licit and illicit connection in the list of forbidden degrees; so that a previous illicit connection between Henry and Mary Carey would put Anne Boleyn in the first degree of affinity in regard to him. It may be noted that, writing to Casale on December 5th, 1527, giving instructions as to how to approach the Pope, Wolsey says: "Though the King does not fear the consequences which might arise, yet, remembering by the example of past times what false claims have been put forward, to avoid all colour or pretext of the same, he requests this of the Pope as indispensable"—namely, his consent to the Bull.

With Dr. Knight's request that Henry should be allowed to marry again, whether the nullity of the marriage with Katharine were established or not, it is clear that Pope Clement had a demand of unique character put forward for his consideration. He made it easier for himself to give it impartial attention by escaping from Imperial control on December 9th, and taking refuge at Orvieto; but, anxious as he was to placate Henry, and to have England and France on his side against the tyranny of the Emperor Charles, he could not bring himself to do more than give Knight a dispensation, whereby a Legatine Court sitting in London might decide on the validity of the marriage between Henry and Katharine. Even this was vitiated through the insertion by the Pope's advisers of a clause which reserved to him final judgment on the matter. Therefore Knight's mission was a failure, very thinly disguised; and Henry, having

no intention of leaving the decision to one over whom he had so little command as the Pope, especially as war was now openly declared between the Anglo-French alliance and the Empire, decided with Wolsey that they must try again. It should still be through an attempt to move the Pope, but with different instruments.

The King wrote on February 12th to Cardinal St. Quattuor (who was, as a matter of fact, the person mainly responsible for the alteration of the drafts) that he found the commission and dispensation lately sent of no force. This letter went by the hands of the new envoys, Edward Foxe, his own almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, a protégé of Wolsey. The Cardinal's instructions to these make very interesting reading.* Wolsey says that he finds the Pope has been labouring under a misapprehension, as if the King had set on foot his divorce out of a vain affection or undue love to a gentlewoman of not so excellent qualities as she is here [in England] esteemed. The envoys are to inform His Holiness that Wolsey is well assured, and "dare put his soul," that the King's desire is grounded upon justice, and not from any grudge or displeasure to the Queen, whom he honours and loves, and minds to love and treat as his sister, with all manner of kindness. But, as this marriage is contrary to God's law, the King's conscience is grievously offended.

"On the other side," continues Wolsey, "the approved, excellent virtues of the said gentlewoman, the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, chasteness, meekness, humility, wisdom, descent of

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV., page 1741.

right noble and high through regal blood, education in all good and laudable [qualities] and manners, apparent aptness to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, more to be regarded and esteemed than the only progeny," are the grounds on which the King's desire is founded—which Wolsey regards as " honest and necessary."

The instructions end with a passage, somewhat mutilated in the manuscript, in which a request appears to be made that the Pope shall write to Queen Katharine, asking her to conform to the King's wishes to forbear all trouble and delay, as, if sentence be not passed against her, the King will have greater reason to deal with her liberally and treat her as Princess of Wales.

On their way to Dover, Foxe and Gardiner evidently called at Lord Rochford's house at Hever, and paid their respects to Anne ; for, in a letter to her Henry wrote, in English, to the following effect :

" This bearer and his fellow are dispatched with as many things to compass our matter and bring it to pass as our wits could imagine or devise ; which brought to pass, as I trust, by their diligence, it shall be shortly, you and I shall have our desired end. . . . Keep him not too long with you, but desire him for your sake to make the more speed ; for the sooner we shall have word from him the sooner shall our matter come to pass. And thus, upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine own sweetheart. Written with the hand of him which desireth as much to be yours as you do to have him."

Reaching Orvieto on March 20th, the envoys, of whom Gardiner took the chief part, found their task with the Pope one of tremendous difficulty; and they came even to threats that "the King would do it without him." His Holiness, "casting his arms abroad," and crying that to give such a commission as Henry demanded would be a direct declaration against the Emperor—as, indeed, it might be treated, since a Legatine Court, sitting in London with plenary powers, could hardly dare to reach a verdict against the King—put them off first with a commission really no better than Knight had obtained. Foxe came home in advance, with letters from the Pope and others, which seemed to show that the embassy had been successful. On May 3rd, he presented himself at Greenwich Palace, where the Court was.

Writing to Gardiner in Italy, his colleague told him how on arrival he had been commanded by the King "to go to Mrs. Anne's chamber, who, as my lady Princess and others of the Queen's maidens were sick of the smallpox, lay in the gallery of the Tiltyard." To Anne, Foxe praised Gardiner's singular diligence and dexterity and mentioned his hearty commendations of her to the Pope, for which she seemed most grateful, "oftentimes calling me Master Stephens,* with promise of large recompense for your good acquittal." On the King entering the chamber, Anne left them, and Foxe, presenting his letters, related the difficulties of the mission, and how they had extracted a promise from Clement that, once the Legates should have given their decision on the divorce, he would confirm it

* "Dr. Stephens" was a name by which we frequently find Gardiner called.

without delay. The King, apparently not seeing at first that there was a snare in this, "seemed marvellously well pleased, and, calling in Mrs. Anne, bid me repeat it all to her." Many questions were asked about the Pope's disposition toward the King, when Foxe told them that without Wolsey's letters they would have obtained nothing; for His Holiness declared he had been told, long before their coming, that the King only wanted his desire for private reasons, and that she [Anne] was with child, and of no such qualities as should be worthy of such a position; but Wolsey's letters proved the contrary.

If Henry and Anne imagined for the moment that the path to their union was now smoother, they were much mistaken. It is true that Clement, on still further pressure from Gardiner, while appointing Campeggio to act with Wolsey in judging the cause (apparently with authority for either to act alone, if necessary), gave him a decretal to the effect that, if Henry's statement of his case should prove correct, then by canon law his marriage was null. But Campeggio was privately instructed to show this decretal only to the King and Wolsey, not to let it go out of his hands, and in case of need to destroy it. On June 8th, the Pope issued his commission to the two Cardinals; and the Italian's arrival in England was the next step to be waited for.

In June Anne was with the Court at Greenwich; for on the 6th Heneage wrote thence to Wolsey that "Mistress Anne is very well amended, commends herself to you, and thinketh long till she speak to you." By "amended" Heneage appears to refer to some slight indisposition. The serious epidemic which was

just beginning to ravage south-east England had not yet touched the Court. About the same time belongs Anne's own letter to the Cardinal, with the postscript by Henry.* Though it is well known to many readers, it is worth quoting again, as showing Anne's outward attitude towards Wolsey at this time and her hopes of attaining her desire with his assistance. She writes :

"My Lord,—In my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, proceeding from one who is much desirous to know that Your Grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray ; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompensed on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the Legate ; for I do hope, as they come from you, they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, if it were possible, as I know it is not. And thus remaining in a steadfast hope I make an end of my letter. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

"Your humble servant,

"Anne Boleyn."

* Some would assign this letter to the time of Anne's supposed visit to Ampthill at the end of July.

Henry, adding his message at the end, tells the Cardinal that "the writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand," and continues :

"There is neither of us but that greatly desireth to see you and [is] much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the Legate's arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse. Notwithstanding, we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. . . .

"By your loving Sovereign and Friend,

"H. Rex."

Henry was disappointed in his hope that the fury of the plague had passed. On June 16th someone at Court, in attendance on Anne, was attacked by that mysterious illness, "the sweat," which got a hold principally on the counties of Kent and Sussex, but apparently never travelled further from England than Calais. Though it claimed many victims in London and in south-east England, it was popularly supposed to have no power on the Continent.

When the sweat appeared at Court, there was a great panic. "The King in great haste dislodged," writes du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, to Montmorency, "and went twelve miles hence, and I hear that the lady was sent to her father, the Viscount, in Kent. As yet the love has not abated," he adds. The love had not abated, indeed ; but Henry was a great

coward in face of the epidemic, and went first to Waltham, then to Hunsdon, and thirdly to Tittenhanger, where Wolsey had a house to lend him. It was reported that he used to shut himself up in a tower with his physician, Dr. Chambers, and to insist on having his meals alone. To prove that he did not forget Anne, however, he sent her letters, of which the first appears to be one running as follows :

"The doubt I had of your health troubled me extremely, and I should scarcely have had any quiet without knowing the certainty ; but since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us. When we were at Waltham two ushers, two *valets de chambre,* your brother, [and] master treasurer fell ill and are now quite well, and since we are removed to our house at Hunsdon we have been perfectly well, without one sick person, God be praised, and I think that if you would retire from the neighbourhood of Surrey, as we did, you would avoid all danger ; and also another thing may comfort you, for in truth it is said that few or no women have been taken ill, and moreover none of our Court and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reason I beg you, my entirely beloved, to have no fear nor to be too uneasy at our absence."

Henry hopes soon to make her sing for joy of her recall, and wishes her in his arms so that he might a little dispel her unreasonable thoughts—doubtless a reference to some letter of hers written at Hever.

Very soon after this letter from Henry at Hunsdon, we find a letter written to Wolsey by Thomas Heneage at the same place and dated June 23rd.

"This morning is told me," says the writer, "that Mistress Anne and my lord of Roxfort had the sweat and was past the danger thereof." On the same day also Sir Brian Tuke, treasurer of the chamber, wrote to Wolsey from Hunsdon, saying that the King yesterday had told him how few were dead of the sweat; how Mistress Anne and my Lord Rochford had both had it; what jeopardy they had been in "by the turning in of the sweat before the time;" of the endeavours of Mr. Butts, who had been with them; and finally of their perfect recovery.

These two messages to Wolsey help to place, within a few days, the letter from Henry to Anne on hearing of her being attacked by the sweat, which is a characteristic example of his epistolatory style. He writes:

"There came to me in the night the most afflicting news possible, for I have reason to grieve upon three accounts. First, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and would willingly bear the half of yours to cure you. Secondly, because I fear to suffer yet longer that hated absence which has given me such pain already, and as far as I can judge is like to give me more. I pray God to deliver me from so importunate a rebel! Thirdly, because the physician in whom I trust most is absent at the moment when he could do me the greatest pleasure; for I should hope by his means to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is my mistress cured. Nevertheless, in default of him I send you the second and only one left, praying God that soon he may make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever."

The first physician mentioned seems to be Dr. Chambers; and the second, whom he sent down to Hever, Dr. Butts, who was successful with the patients, though Lord Rochford did not make so good progress as his daughter, it appears later.

In the letters of Heneage and Tuke to Wolsey, quoted above, mention is made of the death, through the sweat, of William Carey, Anne Boleyn's brother-in-law. In fact, Heneage states that the news reached Hunsdon "this night [June 23rd], as the King went to bed." Some time after this date, therefore, must come a letter from Henry to Anne, written in English, in which he says that, as touching her sister's matter:

"I have causyd Walter Welze [Walter Walshe, groom of the chamber] to wrytte to my lord myne mind theryn, wherby I trust that Eve shal nott have poure to dyssayve Adam, for surly, whatsoever is sayde, it can nott so stand with hys honour but that he must neds take her hys naturall dawghter, now in her extreme necessite."

The reference to Eve "dissayving" Adam is obscure. Professor Brewer supposes that the King means to say that Rochford was influenced in his neglect of his daughter either by his wife or some other lady. Anyhow it is clear that he had exhibited reluctance to look after his widowed daughter Mary.*

In this letter, for the first time in the correspondence, there is a touch of coarseness—we refrain from

* It may be noted that to Anne was granted the custody of William Carey's lands during the minority of Henry, his son and heir, "with the wardship and marriage of the said heir." ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. V., page 7.)

quoting the passage—for which, and for similar examples in later letters, several historians have not failed to blame the recipient, Anne. Such censure is entirely beside the point. Coarseness of language was no rarity in letters of the period, and ladies had to tolerate it, even when not placed in the position of Anne Boleyn. Henry's indelicacies cannot honestly be held to besmirch her character, regrettable as it may seem to the taste of more refined times that she did not at once write back to him renouncing her aspirations to become his second wife.

At the end of June Anne was still at Hever with her father, as du Bellay notifies Montmorency, while the King had at last come to rest at Tittenhanger, "finding further removals useless." Though there had been numerous cases of the sweat at Court, the deaths had been few. Henry himself wrote to Anne, giving her a similar account of the situation, and said:

"As touching abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you; for you know best what air doth best with you; but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God) that nother of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long."

In this same letter there is mention of a curious affair, which deserves some attention as showing a struggle of will between Anne Boleyn and Cardinal Wolsey for influence over the King at the very time when she was relying on the Cardinal's aid in the matter of her marriage. The affair arose out of the question of appointing a successor to Elizabeth

Shelford, the old abbess of the nunnery of St. Edith, Wilton, who died on April 24th, 1528. Writing that day to Wolsey, Thomas Benet told him that most of the convent favoured as her successor Isabel Jordan, the prioress, who was ancient, wise and discreet. "There will be great labour made," he warned him, "for Dame Eleanor Carye, sister of Mr. Carye of the Court." This Dame Eleanor was one of the nuns, and as sister of William Carey was sister-in-law to Mary and Anne Boleyn. On June 23rd Wolsey was informed by Heneage that Carey (just before his succumbing to the sweat) "begs you to be gracious to his sister, a nun in Wilton Abbey, to be prioress there, according to your promise." It would seem, however, that it was the higher appointment of abbess which was aimed at for the lady, though there later arises a question of making her eldest sister abbess—still keeping the post in the Carey family.

Unfortunately, Eleanor Carey had a bad reputation; and there must have been considerable laxity in the Wilton establishment as a whole. The Cardinal had the nuns before him, and examined them in the presence of Dr. John Bell, archdeacon of Gloucester. There "she which we would have had abbesse," as Wolsey writes, confessed to having had two children by two sundry priests, and since to have been kept by a servant of Lord Broke. Wolsey accordingly appointed Isabel Jordan abbess. He quickly learnt that he had been precipitate. Dr. Bell wrote to him on July 10th that the King was "somewhat moved" at the appointment, and that, "though on the report of the dissolute living of Dame Elinor he was

content to desist, . . . his mind and expectation was that in no wise the prioress should have it, *at which some will find themselves aggrieved.*"

Heneage wrote next day, confirming the news of the King's displeasure ; and Henry, who on July 11th had moved to Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, followed this up with a letter of grave though friendly rebuke to the Cardinal for first acting against his wishes and then " cloaking your offence by ignorance."

There must have been some letter to Wolsey, which is missing, in which the King's desire was expressed that the appointment should go to a third person, neither Eleanor Carey nor the prioress ; for in the last quoted letter to Anne Boleyn Henry says : " I would not for all the gold in the world clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house which is of so ungodly demeanour, nor I trust you would not that nother for brother nor sister distayne mine honour nor conscience." As touching the prioress or Dame Eleanor's eldest sister, he adds, though there is no evidence against their character, and the prioress is " so old that of many years she could not be as she was named "—for there had been counter-charges by Dame Eleanor's partisans to the effect that the prioress had a past !—" yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have done that nother of them shall have it, but some other and well-disposed woman shall have it, whereby the house shall be the better reformed (whereof I assure you it hath much need) and God much the better served."

Wolsey was evidently alarmed at the King's rebuke from Ampthill, for he apologized—in a letter which

has been lost—and received in reply the royal forgiveness. "It is no great matter," wrote Henry; "for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter; and your fault was not so great, as the election was but conditional."

It seems that Wolsey's appointment was not upset, since we find Isabel Jordan in the post of abbess in November. Anne's interference in the matter has been severely blamed; but there is nothing to show that she knew of the bad character of Eleanor Carey, and many ladies before and since her time have interested themselves on behalf of people who have, on investigation, turned out to be entirely unworthy of recommendation.

Soon after the affair of the abbess of Wilton, there was an expectation of Anne's return to Court. On July 21st Heneage wrote to Wolsey that she was coming with her mother that week, while "my lord Rocheford was to have come, but because of the sweat he remains at home," having apparently had a relapse. Du Bellay, in a letter to Montmorency, written in August, records her arrival; and this appears to have been while the Court was at Ampthill. In a letter to Anne, in which he mentions the writing of his book and speaks of "summe pain in my head," enabling us by comparison with other correspondence to place it near the beginning of August, Henry assures her, "Myne owne swet hart, . . . me thynketh the tyme longer syns your departing now last than I was wont to do a hole fortenyght." From this we may perhaps gather that she paid two brief visits to Ampthill, returning in each case to Hever.

Another indelicate expression marks the close to

this letter, to the scandal of Anne's critics. But—"the blood of the Absolutes was always impatient," without undue reflections on the character of Miss Lydia Languish.

Four more of Henry's letters must be assigned to this period. In one he begs "his mistress" to "tell my lord your father from me that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be at Court before the old term, or at least on the day arranged; for otherwise I shall think he will not do the lovers' turn, as he said he would." In the second, apologizing (in English) for his "skant laysor" for writing, he tells her that, as touching a lodging for her, they had got one by my lord Cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabout "for all causes," as the bearer of the letter would show her. Where Henry was when he wrote thus is not clear, though we know that he was at Windsor at the end of August. It is suggested that the lodging which had been procured for Anne by the Cardinal's means was Suffolk Lodge, in preparation for the Court's return to town.

Before coming to the other two letters from Henry to Anne, we must stop to look at one from her to Cardinal Wolsey. She had only just had her struggle with him over the Wilton appointment. Yet now we see him exerting himself to procure a house for her in London, and about the same time she sends the following letter to him, of which the effusive language has excited the sarcastic comments of her detractors:

"My Lord,—In my most humble wise that my poor heart can think I do thank Your Grace for your

kind letter, and for your rich and goodly presents, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty that all the days of my life I am most bound, of all creatures next the King's Grace, to love and serve Your Grace ; of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And, as touching Your Grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank Our Lord that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the King and you ; not doubting but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonely of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I desire that much ; and, if it be God's pleasure, I pray Him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my Lord, to recompense part of your great pains. In the which I must require you, in the meantime, to accept my good will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as Our Lord knoweth ; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

" Your humble and obedient servant,

" Anne Boleyn."

The language of diplomacy, no doubt. But, then, Anne was a diplomatist, and could not have held her own had she not been a diplomatist. At the time, she must use Wolsey or fail. She used Wolsey. Nor did she hesitate to invoke his aid on behalf of clerics in whom she was interested ; for there exists a brief note sent to him about this period, in which she thanks

him for an attempted service to Mr. Barlow (apparently William, afterwards Bishop of Chichester), and begs him to remember "the parson of Honey Lane."*

To return to the royal love-letters, the next is somewhat mysterious. It is clear that somehow there had been a leakage of information meant by Henry for Anne's ears alone. It is easy to attribute this, as some do, to Anne's indiscretion or carelessness, her general levity of character, in fact. Henry, however, does not chide her very severely, it must be confessed; so why need we?

"Darlyng," he writes—but we will not follow his spelling—

"I heartily recommend me to you, ascertaining you that I am not a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I wrote to you that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is about me, whereof I not a little marvel; but lack of discreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this time, but that I trust shortly our meetings shall not depend upon other men's light handlings but upon your own. Written with the hand of him that longeth to be yours.

"H.R."

It is tempting to think that the ultimate appearance of Henry's celebrated letters at the Vatican might

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV., Appendix.

be connected with this leakage of information of which he complains. But, if so, both the above letter and two subsequent ones must have been similarly intercepted at some later date.*

The last of the King's missives previous to the arrival of Campeggio seems to have been written from Windsor. It is as follows, apart from the spelling :

" The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure also that I take to know them true, causeth me to send you now these news. The Legate which we most desire arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past, so that I trust by the next Monday to hear of his arrival at Calais, and then I trust within a while after to enjoy that which I have so longed long, to God's pleasure and our both comforts. No more to you at this present, myne awne darlyng, for lack of time, but that I would you were in mine arms, or I in yours, for I think it long since I kissed you. Written after the killing of a hart at 11 of

* With regard to the interception of letters by foreign emissaries, a report from du Bellay to Montmorency (assigned in " Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," provisionally to August 20th(?), 1528) is interesting. We quote further passages to show the French ambassador's view of Wolsey's position at this time. Du Bellay says :

" Mademoiselle Boulan has returned to Court. The intercepted letters that you sent me about this matter have caused them to think. . . . I fancy that the King is so far committed to it that none but God can get him out. As to Wolsey, I do not believe he knows where he stands. I have been told on good authority . . . that, a little before this sweat, the King used most terrible language to him, because he seemed desirous to cool him and show him that the Pope would not consent to it. . . . I think he sees that if this marriage is accomplished he will have much to do to maintain his influence ; and when he sees himself in despair of it, he will give out that he retires voluntarily."

the clock, minding, with God's grace, to-morrow mytely timely to kill another. By the hand which I trust shortly shall be yours.

"HENRY R."

* * * * * * *

This chapter has been mainly composed of letters. That is of necessity; and it is fortunate for the historian of Anne Boleyn that there are so many letters preserved to illustrate this particular epoch of her career, which otherwise would be as blank as many of the years before it. It is, on the other hand, unfortunate that of her letters to the King not one has been saved for us. Henry was more careful of the replies that he received from her than she was of the notes which he sent. Perhaps he destroyed them when, tired of her, he sent her to an ignominious death and turned to the demure charms of Jane Seymour.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEFEAT OF WOLSEY

AT last, on September 29th, 1528, Cardinal Campeggio set foot in England, having travelled with exceeding slowness and being very ill with gout. He was not a stranger to the country, and like numerous foreign prelates was a titular bishop here, his see being Salisbury. His appointment as Legate to decide the matter of the divorce had been urged by Wolsey from the first ; for it was felt that of all Legates who might be sent he was most likely to be favourable to the King's cause. It was not known, of course, what secret orders he had from Pope Clement to hinder him from giving the final verdict desired by Henry.

The King clearly did not suspect the Legate of being likely to thwart him ; for he wrote, in the last of his extant letters to Anne Boleyn, that " the unfained sickness of this well-willing Legate doth somewhat retard his access to your presence, but I trust verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompense his demowre ; for I know well whereby he hath said (lamenting the saying and bruit that he should be Imperial) that it should be well known in this matter that he is not Imperial." Not " Imperial," indeed, was Campeggio himself ; but the fear of the Emperor Charles was strong on the Pope,

and Campeggio was an obedient follower of his master's instructions, as was soon to be discovered.

This same letter of Henry's informs Anne of his joy at understanding her "comformabylnes to reson" and her suppression of her "inutille and vayne thoughts and fantesys with the brydell off reson," beseeching her to continue the same, not only in this matter, but in all her doings hereafter, for thereby should come to both of them "the greatest quietness that might be in this world." It can only be conjectured whether the thoughts and fantasies which Anne had suppressed had been inspired by a wish to retire from the ambiguous position which she held and renounce her ambition to be Queen or by an impatient desire to cut the knot now, which could not be done otherwise than by rejecting—as it was rejected later—the Papal authority and carrying out the threat which we have seen Foxe and Gardiner making to the Pope at Orvieto.

That Anne was at Hever when she received this message appears from du Bellay's report on October 6th that the King and Queen were coming to Greenwich that day, but he did not think Mademoiselle would yet leave her mother in Kent.

The suffering Campeggio had reached Bath House, the residence assigned to him in London, on October 8th and had gone straight to bed. It was not till the 12th that he felt well enough to present himself to the King at Bridewell Palace.* Next day a long

* "Bridewell in Fleet Street," as Cavendish calls it. As showing the character of the neighbourhood then, it may be noted that Henry VIII., in 1510, gave Cardinal Wolsey a house there, with an orchard and twelve gardens attached!

discussion took place at Bath House between Henry and Campeggio; and on the following the Legate called on Queen Katharine. What came of these and subsequent interviews belongs only incidentally to the story of Anne Boleyn. It suffices to say that Katharine not only maintained that her marriage with Arthur had never been consummated, but (whether or not upon the advice of the councillors whom the King had assigned to her, of whom the moving spirit was Fisher, Bishop of Rochester) absolutely refused to simplify matters by expressing a wish to retire to a nunnery, as Campeggio suggested, or by receding in any way from her claim that she was Henry's lawful wife. She would die again and again, she declared, rather than give way. Henry, for his part, continued to press for the divorce without delay. Wolsey, urged on by the King and bitterly reviled by the Queen, attempted to put the screw on his Italian colleague, so that divorce proceedings might start—and then found how they had been tricked by Pope Clement. He had come over in order to form an opinion on the case, said Campeggio, which he was to let the Pope know; after that he must wait for further instructions.

Wolsey's consternation is revealed in one of his letters. On November 1st, 1528, he writes to Gregory Casale* of Henry's dissatisfaction with Campeggio, and especially with his attempt to dissuade a divorce until he shall have made a report to the Pope, and his refusal to entrust Wolsey, though he is his colleague, with his commission from Rome. Those who predicted that nothing but causes for delay would be

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV., page 2120.

invented are right, and the King feels his honour touched, especially considering what a benefactor he has been to the Church. "I cannot reflect upon this and close my eyes," continues Wolsey, "for I see ruin, infamy and subversion of the whole dignity and estimation of the Apostolic See if this course be persisted in. . . . If the Pope will consider the gravity of this cause, and how much the safety of the nation depends upon it, he will see that the course which he now pursues will drive the King to adopt those remedies which are injurious to the Pope and are frequently instilled into the King's mind. Without the Pope's compliance I cannot bear up against the storm."

The remedies injurious to the Pope are, of course, the carrying out of the threat that the King would "do it without him;" and the instillers may well have been Anne and other members of the Boleyn party, so many of whom were already under the influence of the Reform movement. Henry, however, always anxious about the health of his soul, was most reluctant to break with the Pope, if only he could attain his ends without doing so. He was fully aware, too, that the country was not ready to follow him. Even the idea of the divorce was unpopular, largely owing to the favour with which Katharine was regarded. To put himself right in the people's eyes, he went to the extreme step of calling a meeting at Bridewell Palace on Sunday, November 8th, where in the presence of the Lord Mayor and council of London, his own Privy Council, and the greater part of lords of the land and other personages having charge of his affairs, as du Bellay records, he made an

attempt to state his case. He spoke of the perils of a disputed succession to the throne, and expounded the trouble of his conscience that he and Katharine, in the opinion of "divers great clerks," had been living so long in open adultery. He protested the sincerity of his desire to know whether or not his marriage was valid, to decide which the Legate had been sent to England. Du Bellay mentions a report that he concluded with a threat (which would rather have marred the effect of his speech) that he meant to be master, and that "there was no head so fine but he would make it fly!"

Henry decided also to strengthen his cause with the Pope by dispatching another mission, consisting of Sir Francis Bryan and Peter Vannes, an Italian. Taking advantage of Clement's return at last to Rome, he instructed them to offer his congratulations, and at the same time to try to alienate His Holiness as much as possible from the Emperor and "confirm him in love to the King, so that he may be the more ready to grant any petition of the King, as in the great and weighty matter of the divorce." They were to discover whether Clement, in the event of Katharine being induced to "enter lax religion"—*i.e.*, make some sort of retreat to a nunnery—would, of his absolute power, grant the King dispensation to proceed to a second marriage, with legitimation of the children; or, should Katharine refuse, grant him dispensation to have two wives, the issue of the second marriage being equally legitimate with that of the first. They were further instructed to make secret inquiry into the genuineness of a copy of the brief of Pope Julius II. giving dispensation for the marriage

of 1509, which Katharine, with the Emperor's aid, had produced in support of her case.*

While Henry waited for the result of this hopeful mission, and while Katharine resisted every attempt to bend her will, Court life went on much as it had been going during the preceding months, except that it was now spent in or near town.

On December 9th, du Bellay wrote to Montmorency of the King's goings and comings between London and Greenwich (where Katharine was living), and how Mademoiselle de Boulan had at last come to Greenwich, where "the King has lodged her in a very fine lodging which he has prepared for her close by his own. Greater court is now paid her," he continues, "than has been to the Queen for a long time. I see they mean to accustom the people by degrees to endure her, so that when the great blow comes it may not be thought strange. However, the people remain quite hardened, and I think they would do more if they had more power; but great order is continually taken."

Hall's "Chronicle" bears out what du Bellay says with regard to the popular attitude; for he records that "the common people, being ignorant, and others that favoured the Queen talked largely . . . with many foolish words; inasmuch as whosoever spake against the marriage [with Katharine] was of the common people abhorred and reproved."

For Christmas the whole Court was at Greenwich, where, writes du Bellay, "open house is kept by both King and Queen, as it used to be in former years.

* See instructions to Bryan and Vannes, and to these two with Knight, William Benet and Casale, in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV., pages 2155–61.

Mademoiselle de Boulan is also there, having her establishment apart, as, I imagine, she does not like to meet the Queen. I expect that things will remain in this state until the return of Bryan."

It is not astonishing to hear that, amid the Christmas festivities, the Queen "made no great joy of nothing, her mind was so troubled." All the comfort she could get from Campeggio was a repetition of his advice to enter religion; and she cannot but have known that extraordinary efforts were being made by her husband's agents in Rome to get over the difficulty of her persistent refusal to take this course.

Another person who must have seen the opening of 1529 with grave misgivings was Wolsey. Du Bellay near the end of January pictures him to Montmorency as in great difficulty, "since the affair has gone so far that if it do not take effect the King will fall out with him; and if it do he will have to carry it with a strong hand." With the favourite he had had a quarrel over Sir Thomas Cheyney, who had caused a difference of opinion between them before, as we have seen, though in neither case do we know the reason. This time Cheyney had somehow offended the Cardinal, and in consequence had been put out of the Court. But "the young lady has put him in again, and used very rude words of Wolsey. Think what the effect of this may be," continues du Bellay. "The Duke of Norfolk and his party already begin to talk big; but certainly they have to do with one subtler than themselves."

Similarly Mendoza reports to his master the Emperor on February 4th: "This lady who is the cause of all the disorder, finding her marriage delayed which

she thought herself so sure of, entertains great suspicion that the English Cardinal puts impediments in her way, from a belief that if she were Queen his power would decline. In this suspicion she is joined by her father and the two Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, who have combined to overthrow the Cardinal; but as yet they have made no impression on the King, except that he shows him at Court not quite so good countenance as he did, and that he has said some disagreeable words to him."

The expected news from Rome came through very slowly. On January 29th Bryan had written to the King to announce his arrival in Florence, sending a message to his cousin. "I would have written to my mistress that shall be," he says, "but I will not write to her until I may write that shall please her most in this world. I pray God to send Your Grace and her long life and merry, or else me a short end." Then there was a delay. On reaching Rome the envoys discovered the Pope seriously ill, and they could not see him. Indeed, he was reported dead soon after, whereon Henry and Wolsey feverishly set to work to secure a successor who should favour them rather than the Emperor—and in preference to anyone else Wolsey himself, who had long aspired to be Pope—for which desirable end they were prepared to spend money lavishly.

In the meantime Gardiner had been sent to Rome in February to reinforce still further the English pleaders. He had not felt hopeful, as he wrote to Henry; and he found his anticipation justified when at last the convalescent Pope was ready to receive the King's representatives. Professions of good will

From an engraving by Maloeuvre, after Titian's painting.

POPE CLEMENT VII.

[*To face p.* 92.

abounded; but clearly the Imperial influence was too strong, and nothing but words would be obtained from His Holiness.

During Gardiner's stay in Rome a very curious letter was written to him by Anne, dated from Greenwich, April 4th. In this she expresses the hope that the end of this journey of his will be more pleasant to her than his first journey, "for that was but a rejoicing hope, which causing the like of it does put me to the more pain and they that are partakers with me, as you do know; and therefore I trust that this hard beginning shall make the better ending."

"Master Stephyns," continues Anne, "I send you here cramp-rings for you and Master Gregory and Mr. Peter"—Casale and Vannes were in Rome with him—"praying you to distribute them as you think best." These precious gifts of a sovereign remedy against such afflictions of the Evil One as cramp were no doubt begged by her from King Henry. For, as Gardiner himself wrote to Ridley in the reign of Edward VI, "the late King used to bless these cramp-rings, both of gold and of silver, which were much esteemed everywhere, and when he was abroad they were often desired from him."*

Before the end of April it became obvious that the mission to Rome had failed. On the 21st Bryan informed Henry that the Pope would do nothing for him. "No men are more heavy than we that we cannot bring things to pass as we would," he wrote. "I trust never to die but that Your Grace will be able to requite the Pope and Popys, and not be fed with

* The office for the consecration of the rings, as used under Queen Mary, may be found in Burnet's "History of the Reformation," Vol. V., page 445.

their flattering words." (No wonder that Bryan incurred the enmity of loyal Roman Catholics!) He added: "I have written to my cousin Anne; but I dare not write to her the whole truth, but will refer her to Your Grace to make her privy to all the news."

Worse still, on May 4th, Gardiner wrote to Henry that it was in question whether the commission which the Pope had given to the two Legates should not be revoked; and next day Bryan sent a letter in which occur the words: "I dare not write unto my cousin Anne the truth of this matter. . . . If she be angry with me, I most humbly desire Your Grace to make mine excuse." It looks as if Sir Francis had some reason to know his cousin Anne's temper!

Alarmed at the possibility of the Legates' commission being revoked, Henry took prompt steps to set Wolsey and Campeggio to work before such an order could arrive. His license to them to proceed in the cause touching the King's marriage is dated from Windsor, May 30th; and preparations were immediately made for the trial before the Legates in the great hall of the monastery of the Friars Minors, or Blackfriars. On June 14th Henry and his Court came up to London by water. Du Bellay records how the King "landed in passing at my lord of Rochford's [Durham House], with a small company of ladies and gentlemen, where he waited for the tide, and then went on to Greenwich." The French ambassador fears that for some time past the King "has come very near to Mademoiselle Anne," so that Montmorency need not be surprised if they are anxious to hasten matters—*car si la ventre croist tout sera gâté*. There does not seem any warrant for du Bellay's suggestion. No doubt the King had

come as near to the lady as she would let him ; but she does not appear to have relaxed her chaste attitude, incredible though it may seem to her critics. If we take only a low estimate of her moral character, we may at least give her the credit for not surrendering when there was so much doubt still about obtaining the divorce. She may have sympathized with Bryan's wish concerning " Popys " ; but was she sure that the soul-tender Henry would follow her ? He was still showering gifts upon her. At the end of May a warrant had been issued to Lord Windsor, Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, to furnish the Lady Anne Rochford with a most magnificent outfit of harness, saddles and trappings for her riding-horses, and " the moylettes that carry her litter." It was a different matter, however, when she had to deal, not with her royal lover's purse, but with his conscience.

The Legatine Court now began its sessions, after a wrangle over Campeggio's insistence that he, not Wolsey, should preside as principal judge. On June 18th proceedings commenced, the King being represented by a proxy, while the Queen appeared and registered her protest against the Court's jurisdiction. Both King and Queen were present at the next session, three days later, when Katharine made a dramatic exit, declaring : " This is no impartial court to me," and disregarding Henry's summons to return. If she was to be found no wife after twenty years of marriage, it would be without her connivance. Rather than appear again she allowed herself to be pronounced " contumacious."

Burnet records that Anne Boleyn was away from London at the time of the trial, " for silencing the

noise that her being at Court during the process would have occasioned." Probably she was at Hever. Her father was among the witnesses on the King's side, and on July 15th gave evidence that about two years ago Henry, on his confessor's advice, abstained from intercourse with Katharine, "so as not to offend his conscience."

Lord Rochford made another appearance in connection with the trial, on that day of which Cavendish tells us, when the King, impatient at the slowness of the proceedings, sent for Wolsey and had a talk with him at Bridewell from eleven o'clock to noon. On leaving the Palace Wolsey took his barge at Blackfriars and started home for Westminster. With him was one of the bishops, who, wiping his face, observed that it was a very hot day. "Yea," replied the Cardinal, "if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it was very hot!" When he reached York Place, Wolsey went to bed. But in less than two hours he was disturbed by the Earl of Wiltshire (as Cavendish prematurely calls Lord Rochford), with a message from the King. The poor Cardinal was required, "incontinent," to repair with Campeggio to the Queen at Bridewell and attempt to persuade her to abandon her case, rather than let it be fought out and lost by her. He aroused himself and gave Rochford a piece of his mind, rating him for the bad ideas which he and other lords of the council put into the King's head, whereby they were the cause of great trouble to the realm and would in the end get "but small thanks either of God or of the world." This rebuke, Cavendish says, made Rochford "water his eyes." Nevertheless, Wolsey went

to fetch the other Cardinal from Bath House, and together they proceeded to Bridewell, where Katharine received them coldly and altogether refused to consider their suggestion.

Meanwhile from Rome, Dr. William Benet, who, with Casale and Vannes, had remained to represent English interests, wrote on July 9th to say that the Pope, with tears, had told them that the "Caesarians" had shown a mandate from the Queen, demanding the advocation of her cause to Rome, and he could not refuse it. Clement himself, now entirely in the Emperor's power again, wrote ten days later to Wolsey, expressing his sorrow at having had to adopt this course, which he had delayed doing as long as possible, and begging him to keep Henry well disposed to the Holy See.

In London the sessions of the Legatine Court had been suspended on July 29th, Campeggio (who had come to the conclusion that, if he must give sentence, it must be in favour of the validity of the marriage*) insisting on a recess until October 1st. Nothing had been accomplished; and now, to crown Henry's discomfiture, came a confirmation of the Pope's decision to revoke the Legates' commission to try the case. All the King could extract from Campeggio was a promise that he had not divulged, and would not divulge, to the Pope or anyone else his opinion on the case, and that on its advocation to Rome he would use all efforts with the Pope not to allow the Queen to prosecute it. This was a poor result for all the months that had passed since the granting of the commission. Furiously Henry "commanded the Queen to be

* See letter to the Emperor from his agents in Rome, September 3rd, 1529. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV., page 2645.)

removed out of the Court to another place," says Cavendish, and "rode in his progress with Mistress Anne Boleyn all the grece season."*

As usual, at this time of year, Henry made his way towards the Midlands ; and at Woodstock, where they were between August 25th and September 12th, he and Anne must have had much to discuss about the failure of the Legates to make it possible for them to marry. The favourite had now abandoned hope of being able to use Wolsey to accomplish her ends. In revenge, she succeeded in persuading Henry to deal with the Cardinal only through the medium of Gardiner, newly appointed chief secretary to the King, instead of as heretofore direct. But this was not enough for her and her supporters. The whole Boleyn party, indeed, had determined to get rid of Wolsey altogether, and as speedily as possible, while the King was smarting under the sense of his defeat. They reckoned, however, without sufficient knowledge of Henry's obstinacy—which looks almost like a sense of gratitude in this case, if we may believe him capable of such a feeling—and reluctance to throw off completely the Cardinal's yoke. They were soon disillusioned. On September 19th Wolsey arrived with Campeggio, who had come to take farewell of the King at Grafton, in Northamptonshire. Here Henry was staying with a large Court, which included Anne Boleyn, but did not include the Queen. Cavendish, who accompanied Wolsey, records that it was the opinion at Court that the King would not speak to Wolsey, and "thereupon were laid many large

* This is explained as the hunting season, when the hart is "in grease."

wagers." It looked as if the speculators were right when the Cardinal found no lodging prepared for him until Sir Henry Norris, groom of the stole, in compassion offered him his own room, apologizing for the scanty accommodation at Grafton. Cavendish, however, secured him lodgings elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

Henry received the two cardinals in the presence of his Court, all eager to see what would happen. To the general surprise, he not only greeted him amiably, but took him aside to a big window and talked with him privately. "Then to behold the countenance of those that had made their wagers to the contrary," says Cavendish, "it would have made you smile." Fixing an appointment to see Wolsey again after dinner, Henry "departed and dined that same day with Mrs. Anne Boleyn, in her chamber, who kept there an estate more like a queen than a simple maid."

Cavendish got to hear, from those that waited upon the King at dinner, of a conversation between him and his favourite, which we give in the chronicler's own words :

"Mistress Anne Boleyn was much offended with the King, as far as she durst, that he so gently entertained my lord. . . . 'Sir,' quoth she, 'is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the Cardinal hath brought you in with all your subjects?' 'How so, sweetheart?' quoth the King. 'Forsooth,' quoth she, 'there is not a man within all your realm worth five pounds but he hath indebted you to him' (meaning by a loan that the King had

but late of his subjects). 'Well, well,' quoth the King, 'as for that, there is in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you or any other.' 'Nay, Sir,' quoth she, 'besides all that, what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander and dishonour? There is never a nobleman within this realm that if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but he were well worthy to lose his head. If my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm had done much less than he, but they should have lost their heads or this.' 'Why, then I perceive,' quoth the King, 'ye are not the Cardinal's friend?' 'Forsooth, Sir,' then quoth she, 'I have no cause, nor any other that loveth Your Grace, no more have Your Grace, if ye consider well his doings.'"

Henry saw the Cardinal again in the presence-chamber after dinner, conversing with him once more in the window, and then took him to his own room. Here he kept him talking until late, when Wolsey left to escort Campeggio for a little distance on his road before going to his own lodgings to sleep.

The next morning Wolsey called early at Grafton and found the King on horse, just about to ride with Anne to view the ground for a new park—afterwards Hartwell Park—where she had made arrangements that they should dine that day. Cavendish says that this journey was "by special labour of Mistress Anne," who rode with the King only to lead him about, so that he should not return until the Cardinal had left Grafton. According to Thomas Alward, keeper of Wolsey's wardrobe, in a letter to Cromwell,*

* Singer's edition of "Cavendish," Vol. II., page 277.

Wolsey had "long talkyng" with the King in his privy chamber before Henry went hunting. But Cavendish says that Henry told Wolsey he could not tarry.

That Wolsey's enemies recognized that he was not yet quite beaten is evident from Alward's statement to Cromwell that at Grafton the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Rochford and others "did as gently behave themselves with as moche observance and humylyte to my lord's grace as ever I sawe theym do at any time tofor. What they bere in their harts," he adds, "I knowe not."

Wolsey knew well enough, however; and it was with a heavy spirit that he returned to town without seeing the King again. In fact, he was destined never to meet him again after this, though not left without kind words, which availed him nothing. There was one last hope; and with that in view the audacious step was taken of seizing and searching Campeggio's luggage before he left English soil. The current rumour was that it was feared he was carrying off Wolsey's accumulated treasure for him to Rome. A later story was that Campeggio had got hold of Henry's love-letters to Anne Boleyn and was taking them to Rome. It is true that those letters did go to Rome; but not, apparently, under cover of Campeggio's baggage. What was really wanted was the decretal from the Pope authorizing the Legates to act jointly or alone, which Campeggio was supposed to have in his possession. Armed with this, Wolsey might have disregarded Clement's withdrawal of the joint powers conferred on him and Campeggio. But the Italian had destroyed the

document, and all that was found in his baggage seems to have been old clothes—"such vile stuff as no honest man would carry," says Hall!

Wolsey's last chance was gone, and the blow he dreaded was swift in falling. On October 9th he went to Westminster Hall to perform his duties as Chancellor for the last time. The same day a bill of indictment was prepared against him in the King's Bench, by Christopher Hales, Attorney-General. Two days later the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk appeared at York Place to demand the Great Seal of England from him. As they had come without the King's letters patent, the Cardinal refused; but they came again with the necessary authority, and on the 17th he gave up the seal. It was indeed

"Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness!"

Stripping himself of his many possessions, he made them over to the King, and, taking his barge from York Place to Putney, he rode from there to Esher on mule-back, a poor Cardinal and nothing more. Though he had a house at Esher, as Bishop of Winchester, it was unfurnished, and for some weeks he had to make shift with what he could borrow, even for the beds to lie upon and the tables to eat at. With him were still some of his household, including the faithful Cavendish and Thomas Cromwell. But Cromwell—who was destined to play no small part in the fate of Anne Boleyn—left Esher on "All Hallown Day," November 1st, telling Cavendish more than once that he was off to Court, "where I will either make or mar." How he "made" is a great matter in English Church history.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BOLEYNS' TRIUMPH

THE fall of Wolsey was accompanied by the almost complete triumph of the Boleyn party, even if the new Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, was no friend of theirs. The Duke of Norfolk, still hand in glove with them, became head of the Council, though his moderate abilities did not long permit him to exercise any real power. The Duke of Suffolk, still less able, acted as his deputy in the Council. For Thomas Boleyn further gratifications of his ambition were in store, though it was not actually until December 8th, 1529, that at the royal palace of Bridewell he was created Earl of Wiltshire in England and of Ormonde in Ireland, thus at last uniting all the titles which had been in his mother's family.* Some six weeks after his elevation he was made Lord Privy Seal. George Boleyn shared in his father's rise. In October he was appointed ambassador to France in conjunction with Dr. Stokesley, soon to be Bishop of London ; and in December he succeeded his father as Viscount Rochford. As for Anne, henceforward

* James Butler, elder son of the fourth Earl of Ormonde, was created by Henry VI. Earl of Wiltshire during the lifetime of his father. In 1452 he succeeded to his father's title as well ; but when the Lancastrian cause was ruined in 1461 he was attainted and beheaded, and his brother succeeded to the earldom of Ormonde only, the Wiltshire title lapsing.

We have seen that Rochford was a Butler title also.

styled officially Lady Anne Rochford, she was, in the words of du Bellay, "at the head of all." On the day following Wiltshire's earldom a banquet was given by the King, at which Anne had the place of honour, the Queen not being present. The Duchesses of Norfolk and Suffolk—the latter the King's own sister and Anne's former mistress—and all other ladies there had to yield her precedence. To follow the banquet came a ball and "such feasts and rejoicings that nothing seemed wanting but the priest to make the lovers exchange their rings."

Such is the account given by a new chronicler of contemporary events, who now comes on the scene and who is one of the bitterest critics of Anne Boleyn. This is Eustache Chapuys, whom, following on the Peace of Cambrai, the Emperor Charles had accredited as his ambassador in England in September, 1529. If we make due allowance for his heavy bias against her whom he never deigns to call otherwise than "the Lady"—and, later, worse names—we shall find Chapuys a valuable addition to the authorities for our story.

Wolsey in the meanwhile was in the depths of despair. Visiting him when the crash first came, du Bellay had found his state pitiful. His principal hope seemed to lie in getting the assistance of King Francis to break his fall. "The worst of his evil," writes the ambassador to Montmorency, "is that Mademoiselle de Boulen has made her friend promise that he will never give him a hearing; for she thinks he could not help having pity upon him." There was certainly a pronounced strain of vindictiveness in Anne's character, and she did not fail to show it

towards the Cardinal. For this, in his case, the only excuse is that not even now could his enemies feel sure that he was done with. Norfolk's fear of him, months later, was demonstrated when in March he induced the King to cancel his permission for the stricken man to remain at Hampton Court and to order him North.

Henry was quick to take advantage of the material gain which accrued to him from the ruin of his great minister. Writing to the Emperor on October 25th, Chapuys records a secret visit of the King the previous day to view the treasures Wolsey had made over to him, which he found much greater than he expected. "He took with him *sa mye*, her mother and a gentleman of his chamber." Similarly, du Bellay two days later, informing Montmorency of the coming assembly of Parliament, says that during the session the King would occupy the house that belonged to the Cardinal and that he was coming that day to arrange for his residence.

The house was York Place, which Wolsey, under protest, had been induced to give to Henry with the rest of his property, though it belonged not to him personally but to the Archbishops of York. As a matter of fact, he had made no formal conveyance of it yet; but Henry did not wait for that. He saw in York Place a convenient London residence in which he might house Anne, to spare her the inconvenience of meeting Katharine at Bridewell or Greenwich. From the Cardinal's sumptuous house grew the royal palace of Whitehall.

There was, and indeed there could be, no limit to Wolsey's complaisance. His very life hung by a

thread on the King's mercy or caprice. It is true that after the bitter attack on him by Sir Thomas More at the opening of Parliament, Henry had sent him a "Turkis" ring, with a friendly message, and had followed these up with a patent of protection. But Wolsey knew his enemies' persistence and the King's unreliable nature. Acting on the advice of Cromwell, who in Parliament seems to have made a genuine effort to save his former employer, he consented to various grants to Court favourites out of such funds as he was still allowed to handle. George Boleyn, for instance, before the end of the year had annuities of £200 out of the lands of the bishopric of Winchester and of 200 marks out of the abbey lands of St. Albans. That Wolsey appreciated, however, that Anne Boleyn was "at the head of it all" is clear from a letter which he wrote to Cromwell: "If the displeasure of my lady Anne be somewhat assuaged, as I pray God the same may be, then it should be devised that by some convenient mean she be further laboured, for this is the only help and remedy. All possible means must be used for attaining of her favour."

Possibly this letter should follow the incident recorded by Cavendish of Wolsey's serious illness at Esher at Christmas. The Cardinal's physician, Agostino, a Venetian, who subsequently betrayed him, was alarmed; and Henry, hearing the news, dispatched Dr. Butts to visit him. The doctor reported him in grave danger of death, reports Cavendish, unless he should shortly receive comfort from the King and from Mistress Anne. Thereupon the King commanded Butts to return to the patient

with a ring showing his own visage within a ruby, and with a cheering message. Turning to Anne, Henry said: "Good sweetheart, I pray you at this my instance, as ye love us, to send the Cardinal a token with comfortable words; and in so doing ye shall do us a loving pleasure." Anne, not being minded to disobey the King, whatever she felt in her heart, "took incontinent her tablet of gold hanging at her girdle, and delivered it to Master Buttes, with very gentle and comfortable words and commendations to the Cardinal."

Chapuys, commenting on this affair to the Emperor, says: "The Lady . . . represented herself as favouring him with the King. This is difficult of belief, considering the hatred she has always borne him. She must have thought he was dying or shown her dissimulation or love of intrigue, of which she is an accomplished mistress."

Another incident of Christmas, 1530, is preserved for us in a letter written by Queen Katharine to the Pope.* On Christmas Eve, she says, she saw the King in private and took the opportunity to upbraid him for the scandal which he was creating by keeping Anne in his company. Henry, however, was impenitent, and replied that there was no wrong in his relations with the Lady. He kept her in his company in order to learn her character, as he had determined to marry her; and marry her he would, whatever the Pope might say! It is difficult to understand how, after this, Katharine had still hopes of winning the King back.

* Quoted by Friedmann, Vol. I., page 130, from the Vienna archives.

Anne's relenting towards the Cardinal seems to have been of short duration, if we may trust Chapuys. He says that Sir John Russell told him that, in consequence of some words that he had spoken to the King in Wolsey's favour, the Lady had been very angry and had refused to speak with him. Moreover, the Duke of Norfolk had informed Russell that she was irritated with him too, because he had not done as much against Wolsey as he might. Norfolk soon made up for this laxness !

In the same letter, which is dated February 6th, 1530, Chapuys complains that the treatment of the Queen is worse than ever. " The King is away from her as much as possible, and is here with the Lady, while the Queen is at Richmond. He has never been so long without paying her a visit, and makes it his excuse that someone has died of the plague near her residence."

Wolsey had now recovered from his serious illness, but found the King still inclined to be gracious to him. Some fine presents reached him on Candlemas Day ; and, having at length made a formal conveyance of York Place, he received on February 12th a full pardon and two days later was restored to the archbishopric of York and all its possessions except the town house. It looked, indeed, to his enemies as if the chances of his recovery of favour were not impossible, which no doubt accounts for the bitterness of Anne and for Norfolk's action in getting him banished from the neighbourhood of the King.

The results of the Cardinal's removal from the conduct of affairs had not been such as to please Henry. The Pope was fully reconciled to the Emperor now,

and in February had crowned him at Bologna, where Charles remained in council with him. An outcome of this was the issue of a Papal brief, to be affixed to the gates of the churches, inhibiting Henry from proceeding to a second marriage (as it was rumoured in Europe that he intended doing), under penalty of excommunication and of an interdict on his kingdom. Already, in alarm at the meeting of Pope and Emperor, Henry had determined to send a special envoy to Bologna to plead with them on his behalf. He selected the Earl of Wiltshire, who hastened out to Italy, taking with him his chaplain, Thomas Cranmer, and being joined by Stokesley. It is a curious testimony to the rapid advance of Cromwell that he, in the past looked on as an enemy of the Boleyns owing to his connection with Wolsey, was at first reported as going to accompany the Earl ; but he did not go.

Wiltshire reached Bologna on March 14th and was totally unable to effect anything with the Pope and the Emperor. Indeed, he suffered the indignity of having a citation served upon him for Henry to appear in Rome, in person or by proxy, to have his cause tried there. The only mitigation he could obtain, after the Emperor had taken his departure, was that the Pope should agree to six weeks' delay.

This was a bitter dose for Henry ; and he had already been irritated by young Rochford's failure in his French mission. The principal object of that had been to influence the universities of France in favour of Henry's view of his marriage with Katharine. Cavendish seems to claim for Wolsey the first credit of the idea of getting the opinions of the universities of Christendom on the point ; but Cranmer is

usually supposed to have been the instigator. The campaign was in full swing in the early months of 1530. The difficulty was that the bulk of Europe was under Imperial control, and that in consequence, outside England, there were only France and Northern Italy to whom there was any chance of a successful appeal. Northern Italy offered hopes through French influence alone; and even in France there was no certainty of success, however much money Henry might spend to gain his object. The University of Paris, in fact, was very hard to win over to the King's side.

Rochford, inexperienced in diplomacy, failed and was replaced by another ambassador. The special mission was put into the hands of his wily father, on his way back from Bologna. In Imperial circles there was jubilation over the supposed complete upset of the Boleyn hopes. Several letters to the Emperor from Miguel Mai, his representative in Rome, illustrate this. He reports a rumour that Wiltshire has lost all hope, and, though he does not believe it, that King Henry in consequence has given Mrs. Anne certain goods for her support; and, again, that Wiltshire wishes to marry his daughter to Norfolk's son (the Earl of Surrey), since she cannot marry the King.

There was certainly considerable uneasiness in the minds of the heterogeneous party which had overthrown Wolsey and were now trying to rule England, or Henry, in his place. But we do not find any indication that the Boleyns—that is to say, Anne and her father—had abated their hopes, or that there was any idea of finding another match, such as Mai suggests. for the young lady. What does appear

is that there was a rift in the party, now that Wolsey was safely exiled to his Northern diocese. Norfolk was not satisfied with his limited power; and his wife was a strong partisan of Queen Katharine. Suffolk, brother-in-law of the King, had been content to fight with the Boleyns against the Cardinal; but he was, through his wife, in the possible line of succession to the throne, and he was not content to see Boleyn's daughter take precedence over her. A strange tale about Suffolk is reported to the Emperor by Chapuys in his letter of May 10th.* For long, he writes, the Duke has not been at Court, and it is said that he has been banished because he revealed to the King that "the Lady" had been discovered in compromising circumstances with a gentleman of the Court who had formerly been driven from it on suspicion; "and this time he had been made to leave it at the instance of the said Lady, who pretended to be very angry with him, but at last the King interceded with her that the gentleman should return to Court."

The allusion certainly seems to be to Thomas Wyatt, who, his grandson says, "was twice sifted and lifted at, and that nobleman [Suffolk] both times his most heavy adversary." We shall hear of the second occasion later. Whether George Wyatt refers to this as the first, we cannot say. There appears no corroboration of the Imperial ambassador's story, apart from a brief absence of Suffolk's name from the records. Charles Brandon was a bad and unscrupulous man, who may well have clutched at anything to

* Quoted by Friedmann, Vol. I., page 121, from the Vienna archives. Not in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII."

stop the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn. He failed now in his attempt (if he made one), as he failed later to ruin Wyatt.

It is quite clear that Anne in no way lost favour with the King at this time. At the end of May we hear of King, Queen and Mistress Anne all at Hampton Court together. No efforts were relaxed to put further pressure on the Pope to alter his attitude. In July a petition was forwarded to Rome, with thirteen columns of signatures of the spiritual and temporal lords of England—including that of Wolsey as Archbishop of York—praying His Holiness to consent to the King's desires and pointing out the evils arising from delay.

Almost at the same time Miguel Mai was writing to the Emperor that Clement was sending to England a new nuncio, Antonio, Baron de Burgo, "with no other wish than to shake the King of England in his purpose," taking with him a dispensation for Henry to marry his present wife, notwithstanding that she had been his brother's wife! Mai mentioned also that Francis had warned the Papal nuncio in Paris that, if they pressed Henry too hard, he would marry, and his kingdom would renounce obedience to Rome.

Through France most hope seemed to come. Early in August Lord Wiltshire returned to England with the welcome news that Paris (after a severe struggle) and the other French universities had pronounced in favour of Henry's contention. He had partly atoned for his failure at Bologna. In his steps came du Bellay, who had been on a visit to France. Received by the Council, the Bishop of Bayonne gave as his opinion that the King should marry Anne,

expressing his belief that the Pope would then ratify the union. The Council debated the point, but only Norfolk and Wiltshire voted in favour of du Bellay's suggestion, Suffolk being the loudest in opposition.*

It is strange to find Gregory Casale writing to Henry on September 18th that a few days before the Pope had proposed to him the following condition, "that Your Majesty might be allowed two wives!" Casale may have misunderstood the exact nature of the Pope's proposal, though his version of it agrees with Mai's report to the Emperor. Anyhow, nine days later, Clement replied to the petition of the English lords with a letter of dignified rebuke. After the revocation of the cause to Rome, he said, no proctor had as yet appeared on the King's behalf, and therefore any delay could not be ascribed to himself. Besides which, the King's ambassadors at Bologna had solicited delay.

The signs were fast accumulating that Henry was nearly at the end of his tether, and that a break must come. By a royal proclamation a reminder was given to all that English law did not allow direct Papal jurisdiction in this country; and Clement's new nuncio, de Burgo, got small satisfaction from either Councillors or the King himself when he sought an explanation. On the contrary, he heard threats of what was likely to happen if the Pope remained obdurate in the matter of the divorce. De Burgo might, indeed, have sized up the situation without such threats. Rumours were flying about that the King intended to achieve his end through Parliament.

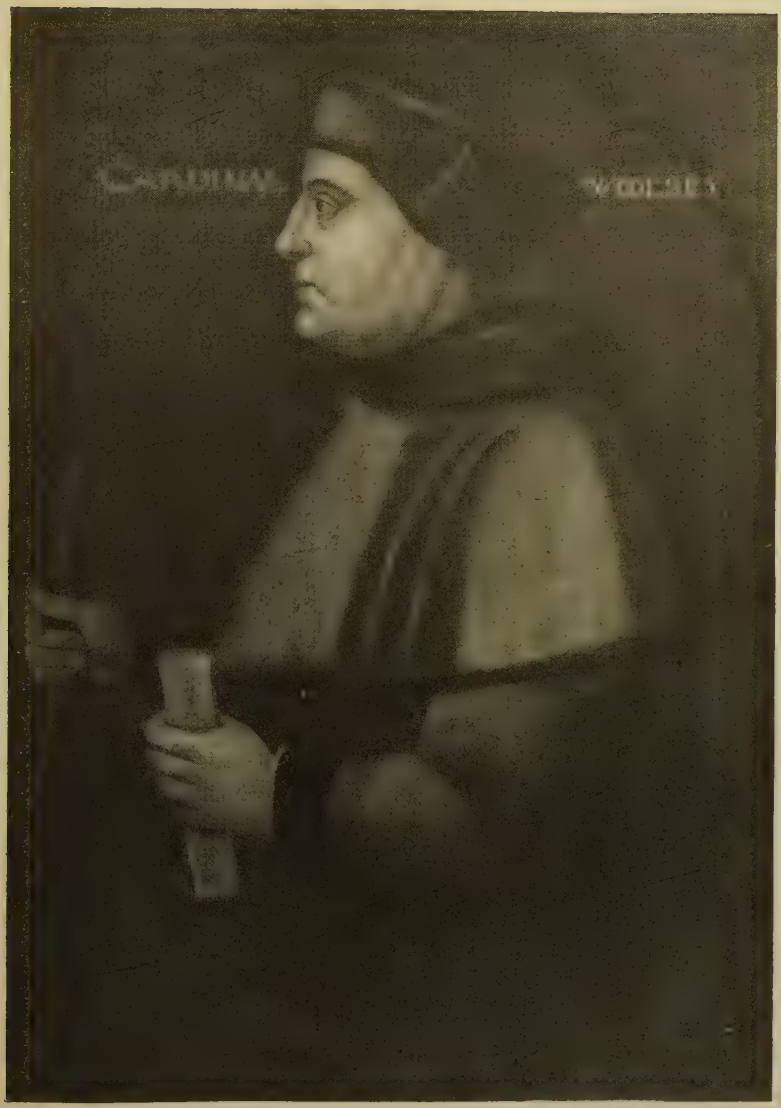
* Du Bellay's letter of August 17th, 1530, in Vienna archives. (Friedmann, Vol. I., page 120.)

However, Henry decided first to make another appeal to the Pope, writing to him direct on December 6th. In his letter, which was very strongly worded and complained bitterly of the actions of both Papal and Imperial agents, he demanded once more that the Pope should allow the cause to be decided in England by judges named by his ambassadors as indifferent.

Henry wrote this letter from Hampton Court. The former lord of Hampton Court, the man whose career had been ruined through his failure to obtain the divorce for his master, had died but a few days beforehand; too soon to allow the malice of his foes to inflict the last degradation on him of imprisonment in the Tower and what might follow thereon. Henry unconsciously hastened his end, if we may accept the story sent by Chapuys to the Emperor on November 27th.

"A gentleman told me," says Chapuys, "that the King was complaining to his Council of something that was not done according to his liking, and said in a rage that the Cardinal was a better man than any of them for managing matters; and, repeating this twice, he left them. The Duke [of Norfolk], the Lady and the father have not ceased since then to plot against the Cardinal; especially the Lady, who does not cease to weep and regret her lost time and her honour, threatening the King that she will leave him—in such sort that the King has had much trouble to appease her; and though he prayed her most affectionately, even with tears in his eyes, nothing would satisfy her except the arrest of the Cardinal."

This, we must remember, is gossip, repeated by one who had every motive to represent Anne's character



From the painting by an unknown artist in the National Portrait Gallery.

THOMAS, CARDINAL WOLSEY.

[*To face p.* 114.

as unfavourably as possible in the eyes of the recipient of his letter. All we know is that by order of the Council, of which Norfolk was the head, the already almost dying man was arrested at Cawood and brought on his way South to stand his trial on a number of counts, one of which is said to have been the false statement by his traitorous physician, Agostino, that he had secretly urged the Pope to excommunicate Henry if he did not put away Anne Boleyn. But the Cardinal was not destined to afford the final gratification to his enemies—amongst whom the party of the Boleyns formed but a small section. By "laying his bones" among the monks of Leicester Abbey he passed beyond the reach of hatred on November 29th.

Much hated as he was, and in many ways no doubt hateful, in the pages of the honest Cavendish Wolsey certainly stands out as not entirely unlovable—the strangest and most gorgeous character of his day.

Some at least of those who had succeeded in bringing about this tragedy of a great man's end did not hesitate to exhibit an indecent joy over it. Not long after Wolsey's death the Earl of Wiltshire gave a supper to the new French ambassador in England, the Sieur de la Guiche. For the entertainment of the guests there was played "a farce of the Cardinal's going to Hell." We are not told who was the author of this merry production; but the Duke of Norfolk was so pleased with it that he commanded it to be printed. La Guiche had sufficient right feeling to disapprove of it, and, speaking to Chapuys, blamed the Earl and still more the Duke.*

* Chapuys to the Emperor, January 23rd, 1531.

CHAPTER IX

THE BREAK WITH ROME

WRITING to the Emperor on January 1st, 1531, Eustache Chapuys gives an account of the state of affairs with regard to Henry and Anne Boleyn: "I have just heard from a well-informed man that this marriage will undoubtedly be accomplished in this Parliament, and that they expect easily to pacify Your Majesty. I cannot tell upon what they rest this expectation, as I have always told them distinctly the opposite, and shall still do so before the game is concluded. The Lady," Chapuys goes on, "feels assured of it. She is braver than a lion. She said to one of the Queen's ladies that she wished all Spaniards in the world were in the sea; and on the other replying that, for the honour of the Queen, she should not say so, she said she did not care anything for the Queen and would rather see her hanged than acknowledge her as her mistress."

Chapuys under-rated the placability of Charles, as was to appear; but at the moment Henry's position facing both Emperor and Pope looked difficult enough. Clement, with the Imperial troops on his doorstep, put forth another brief to be affixed to the gates of churches, especially in the Low Countries, since he could no longer constrain the English clergy to exhibit it in defiance of the royal proclamation. In

this, reminding Henry that he had refused to receive the citation to appear in Rome for the hearing of his cause, he forbade him to remarry until that cause should be decided, and warned him that if he did so any issue of the marriage would be illegitimate.

Yet, to show the strangeness of the situation, we may note that Henry still kept up a certain amount of formal decorum with his wife. At this very time they were both at Greenwich, and Chapuys records a visit to them there after dinner on Sunday, January 8th. Henry had dined with Katharine. He received the ambassador in a friendly manner, and permitted him afterwards to go and converse with the Queen alone. No mention is made of the presence of "the Lady" on this occasion. It is possible that she was at York Place, contemplating the day when she should be Queen there, or devising how she should spend the handsome New Year's gift which Henry had just made her of £100—a considerably larger sum then than it is nowadays. After all, she was but twenty-four, good-looking, and noted for dressing well; Sanders, we have seen, allows her that, when he allows her little else that is not evil.

The meeting of Parliament on January 16th was looked forward to as likely to be marked by events of importance. Already before the opening of the session the Attorney-General had, by the King's direction, begun proceedings against the Bishops for having acknowledged the Legatine power of Wolsey in the matter of the divorce the previous year—a power which Henry himself had been the first to recognize!—and thereby rendering themselves and the clergy who followed them liable under the statute

of *praemunire*. The Convocation of Canterbury, in alarm, made an offer to the King of a "free gift" of £100,000 if proceedings against them were dropped. Henry replied with a stroke which he had in waiting for the occasion. Let them acknowledge him supreme head of the Church of England, he said, and he would accept the gift and grant them pardon.

This message was sent to Convocation through Cromwell, who at the beginning of the year had been elevated to the Privy Council and who seems to have taken charge of the Council's legal work. Aged now about forty-six, Cromwell had had a varied career. After some rather obscure experience of soldiering in foreign service, he had returned to England to engage first in trade and then in study of the law. Wolsey had taken him up on his appointment to the archbishopric of York and had made him his collector of revenues, subsequently employing him in the work of suppressing some of the lesser monasteries so as to divert their resources to his proposed colleges at Oxford and Ipswich—a training in spoliation which Cromwell turned to good account later. Becoming Wolsey's secretary, he left him, as we have seen, on his fall in 1529; though it must be allowed that he did not desert his cause, combining his defence with a vigorous prosecution of his own interests. In the Parliament of 1530 (which was not his first experience of Parliament, as he appears to have been a member as early as 1523), he made his mark, and, by judiciously attaching himself to the Boleyn interests as the formerly united party began to fall asunder when the pressure of opposition to Wolsey ceased to hold them together, he worked his way steadily upwards.

Cromwell is credited with the inspiration of Henry's policy toward the Church in January, 1531. According to Cardinal Pole, Henry, after Wolsey's failure to procure him a divorce, was heard to declare with a sigh that he could prosecute that scheme no longer. Those about him rejoiced; but he had scarcely been two days in that mind when "a messenger of Satan" —Cromwell, to wit—addressed him, and, blaming the timidity of the King's councillors, propounded his own scheme. This was that Henry should get himself acknowledged as head of the Church in his own realm.

Whether or not this is the true origin of the idea, Henry embraced it with fervour. Apparently it did not hurt his conscience; and it certainly appealed to his vanity. We must not suppose that he was actuated by any notion of reforming the Church. He was denouncing at this time Tyndale's "uncharitable, venomous and pestilent books" (the dissemination of which was carried on through Flemish agency), and intimating to Cromwell that he would not have the man in England.* He considered himself a good son of the Church; but the Pope, in his view, was treating him unfairly and was a mere tool in his enemies' hands. He had found a remedy for this.

To his great annoyance, the Convocation of Canterbury jibbed at his proposal and withdrew their offer of a free gift. Chapuys wrote joyfully to the Emperor on January 31st that he believed that the King was intending to put the Lady away. He even heard that he was putting in order for her a house

* Cromwell to Stephen Vaughan, May ? 1531. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. V., page 113.)

which he gave her some time ago. Probably he meant to recall her soon; but Chapuys fancied that if once she were sent away "God and the Queen would guard against her return."

Henry was not so easily beaten. The weapon of the statute of *praemunire* was a powerful one; and, threatened with the penalty for treason, Convocation gave way. They acknowledged him as supreme head of the Church of England, adding the qualification "in so far as the law of Christ allows." York followed Canterbury, and Henry hastened to procure confirmation from Parliament. Here again opposition met him. If the clergy were liable to *praemunire*, it was pointed out, so were the laity. The King did not haggle for long, but granted a pardon to the laity without exacting from them any such composition as the clergy had been compelled to pay. He appreciated that it was not safe, in his present situation, to try the temper of the people too far.

The Queen's friends were taken aback by the measure of success which the King's policy had attained, and she herself felt bitter over it. In his letter of February 21st Chapuys says that Katharine is surprised that so little has been done in Rome. She had felt sure that the Pope would order the Lady to be dismissed from Court; but it appears that the second brief is feebler than the first. In consequence the English have recovered their breath, and the Lady remains more openly acknowledged than before. Chapuys continues, on his own account: "If the Pope had ordered the Lady to be separated from the King, he would never have pretended to sovereignty over the Church; for, as far as I can understand,

she and her father have been the principal cause of it. The latter, speaking of the affair a few days ago to the Bishop of Rochester, ventured to say he could prove, by the authority of Scripture, that when God left this world he left no successor nor vicar."

It is argued that the insertion of a qualifying clause into the Church's recognition of the King's supreme headship was a defeat of the Boleyns, and that in consequence the intention of presenting bills in Parliament hostile to the Pope's authority was dropped. But if Anne and her father were pressing for extreme measures immediately, Henry was not prepared yet to go so far, and Cromwell was too subtle to attempt to force the pace when the opposition was daily growing in strength. Instead of putting any further strain on Parliament, at the end of the session, and on the day after the pardon to the laity had been granted, " when the memory of this exemption was fresh," as Chapuys tells the Emperor, the members were called together. To them the Chancellor " set forth by command that there were some who said that the King pursued this divorce out of love for some lady, and not out of any scruple of conscience ; but this was not true, for he has only moved thereto in discharge of his conscience, which, through what he had read and discovered from doctors and universities, was in bad condition by his living with the Queen."*

Sir Brian Tuke then proceeded to read, in a loud voice, the opinions which had been collected from the universities against the validity of the King's marriage with Katharine. When the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bath, supporters of the Queen, attempted to begin

* Chapuys to the Emperor, April 2nd, 1531.

a discussion, all argument was stopped; and the Commons, having also heard the opinions, were dismissed to their constituencies to report thereon.

Chapuys reports to her nephew that Queen Katharine, at Greenwich, was "in great spirits at having escaped the determination of Parliament on the divorce, of which she was always afraid." She had little enough to rejoice over, apart from this. At the end of April the Imperial ambassador records a fresh humiliation for her. The Princess Mary had been ill and asked the King's permission to visit Greenwich. This was refused, to gratify the Lady, Chapuys makes out, "who hates her as much as the Queen, or more so, chiefly because she sees the King has some affection for her." He continues: "Of late, when the King praised her in the Lady's presence, the latter was very angry and began to vituperate the Princess very strangely. She becomes more arrogant every day, using words and authority towards the King, of which he has several times complained to the Duke of Norfolk, saying she was not like the Queen, who never in her life used ill words to him."

Had Henry then forgotten the previous Christmas Eve?

Anne's attitude towards the young Princess Mary must always remain one of the chief difficulties for her apologists. It was a great source of sorrow to herself in her last hours, so that we cannot doubt that she really exhibited towards her much of the spitefulness with which she is charged. To her the girl represented a more serious obstacle to the complete fulfilment of her ambitions than even Katharine. Of Henry's absolute determination to get rid of the mother there could be no

question. But what of the daughter, who, failing the birth of legitimate male offspring to him and a declaration of her own illegitimacy, would remain his heir? Then, to embitter her, Anne had the constant campaign of calumny by the adherents of the Queen and Princess. A notable instance of this had occurred at the period of which we are writing, in the case of Richard Rice, or Rouse, cook to the Bishop of Rochester.

The details of this case are known to us mainly from later historians. Henry Clifford, following Sanders, says that Anne suborned Rice to poison the Bishop, as being the stout defender of Queen Katharine, and that he put poison in the common pot. Dr. Fisher did not come to dinner that day, but most of his "family" that did were poisoned and died. Rice, confessing his crime, was publicly put to death. Burnet in his "History of the Reformation" takes the pains to investigate this tale and finds that Richard Rouse did try to poison the Bishop on February 16th, 1531, putting something in the "porridge," whereby seventeen people of the household and one poor woman out of those that received the remains of the meal in charity were killed. The cook suffered the horrible fate of being boiled to death for this. But there is nothing whatever to implicate Anne Boleyn in the affair. In fact, the only suggestion of the kind that we hear at the time of the occurrence is when Chapuys, writing to the Emperor on March 1st, mentions the case and says: "The King has done very well to show dissatisfaction at this; nevertheless, he cannot wholly avoid some suspicion, if not against himself, whom I think too good to do such a thing, at least against the Lady and her father."

The legend of Anne the poisoner was to grow to larger dimensions later. That of her unchastity was already well established, thanks to the persistent efforts of open enemies and pretended friends. A genuine ground of complaint against her seems to have aroused comparatively little comment, when, at her instigation, the King started to make a great park in front of York Place, and knocking down a number of private houses, threw a gallery across the street to give access to the park. Chapuys says that the owners of the houses were not compensated, and adds: "All this is done to please the Lady, who likes better that the King should stay in the said house, as there is no lodging in it for the Queen."

Anne could hardly be expected to regard with equanimity a meeting with Katharine, whose supporters were so busy traducing her. Among them was her uncle's wife, the Duchess of Norfolk, who at the end of 1530 had been scoffing at the noble pedigree with which the heralds had been furnishing the future Queen, and who now declared herself so freely in Katharine's favour that Anne procured her temporary banishment from Court.

By the end of May, Henry was resolved to put a stop to the threats which were being made to begin proceedings in Rome. He had warned the Pope, through his agent Benet, that to summon him thither meant the plainest destruction of Papal authority in England. Nevertheless, on May 31st, the nuncio de Burgo asked an audience of him and delivered a counter-warning that the case could be no longer delayed. Furiously Henry swore that he would not submit, menacing the Pope with a march on Rome by

an Anglo-French army. On the following evening he made another attempt to influence Katharine. As she was retiring to bed at Greenwich, about eight or nine o'clock, a deputation waited on her of Norfolk, Suffolk, Northumberland, Wiltshire and other nobles, over thirty in all, accompanied by the Bishops of London and Lincoln, and Doctors Lee, Sampson and Gardiner. They had come to remonstrate with her, on the King's behalf, against the indignity of having him cited to Rome, and persuade her that the only proper course was an impartial tribunal, for which latterly he had been urging the Pope. Katharine turned a deaf ear to their pleadings and would hear of no tribunal but the Pope. Reproaches and threats availed nothing. "Some say," remarks Chapuys, "that they worked hard and counselled long, and devised fine plans, but were confounded by a single woman."

The deputation went back to the King, when Suffolk told him that, while the Queen was willing to obey him in all things, there were two that she must obey first. Which two? asked Henry. God and her conscience, replied the Duke, which she would not destroy for him or anyone. Henry was silent.

Whether it was out of compassion for the Queen or jealousy of the favourite, it was plain the opposition to the Boleyn marriage had greatly grown in volume at Court. Suffolk and his wife were now hostile. Sir Henry Guildford, Controller of the Household, declared himself on the same side, and when Anne threatened him with loss of his post as soon as she was Queen resigned it at once, and could not be persuaded to resume his duties. Gardiner, still chief

secretary to the King, but under promise of preferment to the bishopric of Winchester, was suspected by Anne of lukewarmness, at least; and there were other very doubtful quantities in the royal service at home and abroad.

In disgust, Henry took refuge in his favourite hunting, in the company of Anne, of his Master of the Horse and two others. That Anne was not unchaperoned by her mother, however, we learn from a letter written to Lord Wiltshire by his chaplain Cranmer on June 13th. "The King his Grace, my lady your wife, my lady Anne your daughter," he wrote, "be in good health, whereof thanks be to God. . . . The King and my lady Anne rode yesterday to Wyndsowere, and this night they be looked for again at Hampton Courte; God be their guide!"

Cranmer, we have seen, had accompanied Lord Wiltshire on his mission to Bologna in the previous year. He had been taken into his household as chaplain on the recommendation of the King, who, according to the accepted story, had his attention drawn to him by his own almoner Foxe. Cranmer, Foxe and Gardiner had been college friends at Cambridge, and, meeting the other two at Waltham during the epidemic of the sweat, Cranmer had suggested to them that the King, instead of waiting for the slow process of Papal action to release him from his marriage, should take steps to prove its invalidity and then marry again. He proposed taking the opinion of the universities. When Foxe reported this, Henry sent for Cranmer and was well pleased with him, commissioning him to put forth his views on the marriage in the form of a treatise and getting him

his post with the Boleyn household at Durham Place —a momentous step in Cranmer's career, as it eventually turned out.

If the King chafed at the obstacles in his path and sought relaxation in the chase to help him to forget his vexations, it is plain Anne's spirit had in no way abated, either through the constant fresh delays in the fulfilment of the promise that she should be Queen or through the desertions of former allies. "The Lady only allows three or four months for the nuptials," wrote Chapuys on July 17th, deriving his information perhaps from Norfolk. "She is preparing her royal state by degrees, and has just taken an almoner and other officers. She goes along with the King to the chase; and the Queen, who always used to follow, has been commanded by the King to stay at Windsor."

A week later a definite rupture occurred between Henry and Katharine, in the twenty-third year of their married life; and we have no account of their actually meeting again. Henry had left Windsor to continue his hunting further afield, taking Anne in his suite. Katharine sent a message, inquiring after his health and expressing her regret that she had been unable to speak with him on his departure. Henry sent the messenger back with an angry reply, intimating that he wanted no good-byes or inquiries after his health, and reviling her for the trouble which she had caused him. She wrote again, lamenting his ill-will, in a letter of considerable length, which seems to have rendered the King speechless for three days, as it was not until after that interval that he answered. Then his letter, which Chapuys of course

suggests was dictated by Anne Boleyn, was a crude and violent production, complaining of her obstinate maintenance of the non-consummation of her marriage with his brother Arthur and her preaching of this to all the world. She would have done more wisely, he said, to spend her time in seeking witnesses to her pretended virginity than in talking as she had ; and instead of writing to him she had better attend to her own affairs.*

The letter, in fact, was pure Henry VIII., almost in his lowest terms. We need not attribute it to the Lady's inspiration. It had no address, Chapuys says, "probably because they meant to change her name, and had not yet determined what title to give her."

The same chronicler, writing on August 19th, states that the King, under pretence of hunting about Windsor, has ordered the Queen to dislodge and retire to More, and the Princess to Richmond. The More, or Moor Park, Hertfordshire, was a house formerly belonging to Wolsey in his capacity of Abbot of St. Albans, and was described by Katharine as "one of the worst in England." She vainly petitioned Henry to allow her to remove elsewhither ; and at the More she had to stay, bitterly complaining that she would have preferred to be put in the Tower of London. It was an additional touch of cruelty that she was now entirely cut off from the Princess Mary.

Nevertheless, when in October a fresh deputation waited on her from the King, Katharine maintained her unyielding attitude. The envoys, consisting of Dr. Lee, now Archbishop elect of York, Dr. Sampson,

* Chapuys to the Emperor, July 31st, 1531.

dean of the chapel royal, the Duke of Suffolk and Sir William Fitzwilliam, represented to her how much better it would be to get rid by amicable means of the difference with the King and to agree to leave the question of the validity of her marriage to the bishops of the realm. They even went down on their knees to her. She went down on her knees in her turn, but gave way not an inch.

Henry's reply was to cut off further dealings with her, and to devote himself to the completion of his plans to carry through in England his liberation from his first marriage. He was assured of the support of France, and under Anne's influence was prepared to defy the Emperor. Anne was certainly confident. Meeting one day the French ambassador, John Joachim, Sieur de Vaux, who prophesied that she would now soon be Queen and that Charles would offer no opposition, she scornfully answered that she did not want this or any other benefit by the Emperor's consent.

"Braver than a lion," as Chapuys had formerly described her, the Lady did not flinch before the proofs of her personal unpopularity, not only at Court, outside the small section of her own adherents, but among the populace. Burnet says that the Queen's cause was mostly approved by the women, the King's by the men. There is not much sign of the men's support of the King. Of the women's sympathy with the Queen there is no doubt. An odd affair is mentioned in a letter preserved in the Venetian section of the State papers of Henry VIII.* Writing to the French

* "Venetian Calendar," Vol. IV., page 701. Letter of November 24th, 1531.

ambassador in Rome, a correspondent tells him that (apparently in September) a mob of seven to eight thousand of the women of London, with a number of men disguised in their midst, had gone out to seize "Boleyn's daughter, the King's sweetheart," as she was supping at a villa on the river, the King not being with her, and that she only escaped by crossing the river in a boat. They had intended to kill her, says the writer. We do not hear of the incident elsewhere; but there seems no reason to reject it.

The campaign of calumny was steadily kept up against Anne, both at home and abroad. Another letter in the "Venetian Calendar"* tells how the King has living with him "a young woman of noble birth, though of bad character, whose will is law unto him." In Rome her enemies spared her nothing. Twice in December, 1531, Dr. Ortiz, one of the Imperial agents, wrote to inform Charles that the King's "wench" (*manceba*) had miscarried. Nor was the gossip confined to those who objected to Anne on religious grounds, it must be admitted. A choice piece of scandal-mongering was communicated in September by Simon Grynée, the Reformer, to his friend Martin Bucer.† Grynée had come to England earlier in the year, led chiefly by a desire to visit the libraries of the country, as Erasmus wrote in a letter introducing him to Lord Mountjoy. He did not confine himself to literary research. Speaking of Anne, he says to Bucer: "Whether she has any children by the King I do not know. She has not any acknowledged as such; they may probably be brought up

* "Venetian Calendar," Vol. IV., page 682.

† "Original Letters" (Parker Society), No. 256.

in private (which, if I am not mistaken, I have heard more than once), though there are those who positively deny that the King has any intercourse with her, which, in my opinion, is not likely. But she is young, good-looking, of a rather dark complexion, and likely enough to have children."

Grynée, a foreigner in England, was evidently puzzled by the relationship between Henry and his favourite, which is by no means surprising. He could not be expected to understand the peculiar workings of Henry's conscience, or to appreciate the strength of Anne's determination to have "all or none," however long it might take her to secure the all on which she was bent.

CHAPTER X

FIGHTING HOME OPPOSITION

ON Christmas Eve, 1531, Anne gave a feast, to which were invited both the Sieur de Vaux and the new French ambassador, Giles de la Pommeraye, who had come over to succeed him, with special instructions to help Henry in the matter of his divorce—provided that he were ready to pay the price asked by Francis for his continued support. Chapuys saw Pommeraye after the feast and got from him the information that it was impossible to conceive how much the English King had the divorce at heart, and that his own master would refuse Henry nothing. Francis was wise enough to realize that, as Chapuys wrote later, he had lost nothing by the death of Wolsey, the Lady having more credit than the Cardinal had had, while there was no necessity to pay her 25,000 crowns—his subsidy to Wolsey—but only flattery and promises of soliciting the divorce. Now, through the agency of Pommeraye, a fresh treaty of alliance was negotiated, by which each King bound himself to aid the other in the event of attack by the Emperor. The advantage of this was certainly on the side of Francis, whose dominions were more vulnerable to such an attack than Henry's.

The treaty was signed by the French ambassador, Edward Foxe and Lord Wiltshire in April; but

already early in January Francis had started to carry out part of the bargain. On the 8th Cardinal Grammont wrote to the Pope, begging him not to delay remitting Henry's cause to England until evil consequences had arisen; and Francis followed this up two days later with a letter on behalf of his "good brother." The Papal correspondence of this month is interesting, for on the 4th we find Clement writing a personal letter to Henry, asking his aid against the Turks in case they invaded Italy. On that same day Henry had written to Ghinucci and Casale, his agents in Rome, to use every effort to induce the Pope to adjourn his case still further. His other agent, Benet, was at the moment in England. A curious sidelight on his attitude towards his master's business is furnished by Chapuys. Benet secretly communicated with the Queen, begging her pardon for acting against her. In good will, he told her, she had no better servant than himself, and he informed her that now or never was the right season to put pressure on the Emperor, seeing the cowardice of the Pope, for her affairs were never in better condition!*

Benet did not openly throw off the mask of partisan of the King. More honest than he, Reginald Pole, whose mother, the Countess of Salisbury, was governess to the Princess Mary, came to Henry and told him that if he remained in England he must attend Parliament, and, should the divorce be discussed, he must speak according to his conscience. Pole was a Plantagenet and a kinsman of the King. He had previously acted in Henry's interests in the matter of procuring opinions from the French universities.

* Chapuys to the Emperor, January 4th, 1532.

But now he had repented. Under the threat of his opposition in Parliament, Henry gave him permission, which he had hitherto refused, to go abroad to continue his studies. This was a lucky escape for the future Cardinal, since it put him out of the reach of the fate which later overtook his family, including even the old Countess, whose murder in 1541 was one of the most monstrous of Henry's crimes.

In the same letter in which he tells of Benet's double-dealing, Chapuys complains of the unkind treatment to which the Queen had been subjected at New Year. Though she has been forbidden to write or send messages to the King, he says, she sent him a gold cup as a present, with honourable and humble words ; but, though he looked at it and praised its fashion, Henry sent it back in the evening. He made no New Year's gift to Katharine, and forbade others to do so. " He has not been so discourteous to the Lady, who has presented him with certain darts, of Biscayan fashion, richly ornamented. In return he gave her a room hung with cloth of gold and silver and crimson satin, with rich embroideries."

It is true that in the list of the King's New Year gifts a blank stands opposite the name of the Queen. Anne's family are well represented in the list. Presents of silver plate are recorded to Lady Wiltshire, Lady Rochford (George Boleyn's wife), Lady Mary Rochford—*i.e.*, the former Mary Boleyn, who also gets " a shirt with a black collar "—and Lady Shelton, a sister of Lord Wiltshire, who was now among the Court ladies. The " Lady Anne " herself figures in the list, but the present mentioned by Chapuys does not appear.

As far as royal state was concerned, Anne had practically all the privileges of the Queen; and she was attended by almost as many ladies as Katharine, we are told. But still it appeared impossible to make any progress with the divorce and marriage. Henry sent Benet back to Rome, and dispatched also Dr. Edmund Bonner to assist him. He was further represented there by Sir Edward Carne, his *excusator*, whose duty it was to plead that the King should not be compelled, either in person or by proxy, to appear before the Pope. His newest proposal to Clement was that the cause should be tried by three English prelates, one nominated by himself, one by Katharine, and one by His Holiness. In France he had Gardiner looking after his interests, and at the beginning of 1532 he enlisted the services of Cranmer, who had now finished his book in favour of the divorce, as his ambassador to the Emperor.

On their side, the Imperial representatives were busy pressing the Pope. Ortiz was in high hopes of extracting from him a new brief, excommunicating Henry "if he does not cast off his concubine Ana in fifteen days and return to the Queen"—the brief to be posted up in Brussels and Utrecht.* But Ortiz was disappointed. The Pope's brief, dated January 25th, was merely an admonishment to Henry on the scandal he was creating, ending with a mild hope that he would take Katharine back and put away Anne, which did not trouble the King at all.

In England Henry was continuing his campaign against the authority of the Pope; but he found it

* Ortiz to the Emperor, January 25th, 1532. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. V.)

very uphill work. Parliament met on January 15th, and the rumours were many as to what was going to be done. According to Hall's "Chronicle," it was in this Parliament that a definite motion was brought forward by one of the members to petition Henry to take the Queen back, because of the serious danger to the succession if the Princess Mary were to be declared illegitimate; but we do not know the date of this motion. The King's advisers proceeded cautiously. They consulted the bishops with regard to action hostile to Rome, but got no encouragement from most of them. Then Norfolk and Wiltshire approached Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury ("whom they consider as Pope of England," says Chapuys), with a view to an ecclesiastical court to try the case, in defiance of the Pope. Warham refused; "and it seems that, as they despair of gaining their end by an ecclesiastical way, they will take some other road."

Norfolk was entrusted with the next step. Calling together some of the peers and members of the Commons, he put it before them that matrimonial cases should be judged by lay, not ecclesiastical, tribunals. Lord Darcy opposed this, and the other lords sided with him. Chapuys says that Lord Wiltshire (whether on this or some other occasion) maintained, upon his body and goods, that no Pope nor prelate had power to exercise jurisdiction or make any law—at which, the ambassador adds, "no surprise need be felt, for he and his daughter are considered true apostles of the new sect." But Norfolk and Wiltshire could not carry Parliament with them.

Henry was furious with them over their failure,

and seems to have been inclined to take the French advice to marry Anne at once, assuming as proved the invalidity of his first marriage. Wiltshire was aghast at this, realizing that it would mean uproar in the country, and incidentally his own ruin. Anne quarrelled with her father, and also with her uncle Norfolk, suspecting them both of opposing her secretly. A curious result of her quarrel with the latter was that she insisted on his marrying his son, the young Earl of Surrey, to Frances Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, a match which she had previously opposed. Now she appeared to fear that Norfolk was aiming to secure the hand of the Princess Mary for his son, with designs upon the throne. So, though Surrey was only fourteen or fifteen and the lady was also a minor, she practically forced the Duke to get them married in April.

The estrangement between Norfolk and his niece was fairly complete now; and it is plain that he began, in consequence, to grow more friendly with the Imperial ambassador. When Chapuys spoke to him about a priest who had recently ventured to call the Pope a heretic, the Duke frankly said that it was no surprise, for this priest was more Lutheran than Martin himself, and that he himself would have burnt him if it had not been for the Earl of Wiltshire "and another person." He also made out that he was neither the promoter nor the favourer of this marriage, which he had always dissuaded. But for him and the Earl of Wiltshire, he said, it would have taken place a year ago.* On this point, though not

* Chapuys to the Emperor, May 29th, 1532. Quoted by Friedmann, Vol. I., page 157 *n.*, from the Vienna archives.

in religious matters, he and the Earl were at one, according to his account.

The religious aspect of the question was growing very prominent, as can be seen clearly from the Chapuys letters. In March the King had caused a priest to be arrested for preaching against the divorce in "the Great Church;" and it was reported that he had ordered preachers to support his cause. "One tried to begin it in the bishopric of Cardinal Campeggio [Salisbury], but the women and others would have treated him very ill, had it not been for the authority of justice." A still more notable case was that at Greenwich, of which we have Stow's account as well as that of Chapuys.

The Order variously called the Friars Minors, Minorites or, most commonly, Observant Friars, a reformed Franciscan body, had a convent at Greenwich, on land given to them by Henry VII. Henry VIII. and Katharine both showed great favour to the Observants; but when the dispute came between the King and Queen the Friars mostly espoused the Queen's side with considerable fervour. On Easter Sunday, 1532, the Provincial of the Order, William Peto, preached with great boldness before Henry in the convent on the story of Ahab and Naboth. "Even where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth," he said, "even there shall the dogs lick thy blood, O King!" And, after speaking of the lying prophets, he went on: "I am that Micheas whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee that this marriage is unlawful; and I know I shall eat the bread of affliction and drink the water of sorrow, yet because Our Lord hath put it into my mouth I must speak of it."

It is not surprising that Henry was annoyed at the sermon and remonstrated with Peto, who only told him, however, that he was endangering his crown, for both great and small were murmuring at the proposed marriage. The next Sunday, Henry sent one of his own chaplains, Dr. Richard Curwen, to preach in the convent and contradict Peto's remarks. This Curwen did, denouncing Peto as " dog, slanderer, base beggarly friar, close man, rebel, and traitor," and saying that he wished he were there to answer him. Thereon Henry Elston, the warden of the convent, stood up in the rood-loft and answered him on behalf of Peto (who was away), accusing him of seeking by adultery to establish the succession, betraying the King to endless perdition, and so on. No one could stop his heated tirade until the King himself ordered him to hold his peace.

The sequel to this strange scene was the arrest of Peto, on his return from a provincial council at Canterbury, and of Elston, and an application by Henry to Rome for a commission to have them tried by the head of the Augustinian Order in England! The Observants, not only at Greenwich but at their other branches, were seething with discontent against the King, and such of them as took his side were heartily abused. One of them, Friar John Laurence, writes to Cromwell shortly after that, having preached at Kingston a few words persuading the people to reverence their prince, " as soon as I entered the convent divers set upon me with open mouth, saying I had preached the King's matter and that all our religion should be slandered thereby." In August Laurence wrote again secretly that he had been

forbidden by the Order, under pain of imprisonment, to communicate with either Cromwell or the King. In the end Henry suppressed the Greenwich convent, though this not until two years later. As for Peto and Elston, we find them in Antwerp in the summer of 1533, so that they must have been released to go abroad.

Henry's irritation with rebellious preachers did not incline him to take even mild reproaches from the Pope in a humble spirit. When the nuncio appeared before him with Clement's latest brief in May, though that could not in any way be considered a threatening document, he expressed astonishment that His Holiness should persist in this fancy of wishing him to recall the Queen. If the Pope's contention was that Katharine was his wife, then what business was it of his to meddle with his punishment of her for her daily rude behaviour to him ?

The said rude behaviour—Katharine's continued refusal to yield—was only exhibited at a distance ; and after Easter Henry had removed her still further from him, by sending her to Easthamsted, where she was lodged in a house of the unfriendly Bishop of Lincoln, and where she found the accommodation bad.

In spite of the ill-success which had met the attempts to use Warham and the general body of the bishops to carry out his wishes, Henry by menaces cowed the clergy into making a submission to him, promising to make no new canons or constitutions without his consent and to revise the already existing canons.*

* After putting this proposition before the Convocation of Canterbury, Henry had sent for the Speaker and twelve members of the Commons on May 11th, and told them that he had discovered that the clergy were not loyal subjects, since they took two oaths of obedience, one to the Pope and one to himself. His object was to fasten on Parliament a quarrel with the clergy.

This step they agreed to on May 16th. It was ominous of the disapproval aroused that, on that same day, Sir Thomas More resigned the Chancellorship; and Chapuys records that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, absented himself from Court until the King was obliged to recall him in connection with a dispatch to Rome.

More's position was filled by the appointment of Thomas Audley, a friend of Cromwell, who had been Speaker. He was knighted and made Keeper of the Great Seal, with all the Chancellor's functions and eventually the title also. With him in More's place there was no fear of opposition to the King's schemes. As for Cromwell himself, now Master of the Jewels, his influence in Henry's counsels was far greater than his mere official position indicated. It is difficult to apportion clearly the shares of Anne Boleyn and of Cromwell in driving Henry forward on the road that led from Rome. Cromwell revealed his hand less openly than Anne, who talked after the fashion of a woman of her years. On July 11th Chapuys gives the Emperor a sad account of a young priest, of honest and virtuous life, who has been hanged for "clipping angels." The King, who had lately pardoned a French innkeeper for a similar offence against the coinage, would listen to no intercession on the priest's behalf, "either from hatred of theology or from love of the Lady, who told her father he did wrong to speak for a priest, as there were too many of them already."

In the same month the Imperial ambassador refers to the quarrel between the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, and alleges that Northumberland

told her that he was not her lawful husband, as he had been precontracted to Anne Boleyn. Thereon she wrote and told her father. Lord Shrewsbury showed the letter to Norfolk, who took it to his niece. Anne in turn took it to Henry and demanded that he should question Northumberland about it, with the result that Northumberland solemnly denied the precontract, first before the Council and then before the Archbishop of Canterbury.* Such is the story, as to which it depends on our estimate of Henry Percy's character whether we believe that he really told his wife that there had been a precontract. That Lady Northumberland said so, we need not doubt, nor that Anne's enemies would gladly have used her word to ruin the favourite.

There was no sign of any abatement yet of the King's passion for "this Ana with whom the enemy has entangled him," as Ortiz describes her. He started with her from Windsor early in July for his customary hunting tour in the Midlands. But he had conceived a far more ambitious plan for showing his determination to have her as his queen. He would take her with him to Calais and Boulogne, and there meet the French King, to talk over the steps necessary to bring about the marriage. The greatest pleasure that Francis could do to Henry, wrote du Bellay (now again in England) to Montmorency on July 21st, was to send an invitation, through himself, for Henry to bring Madame Anne

* Chapuys to the Emperor, July 22nd, 1532. Quoted by Friedmann, Vol. I., page 159, from the Vienna archives. As a matter of fact, the denial, on oath, before both Archbishops, seems to have come first. See Northumberland's letter to Cromwell, May 13th, 1536. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VIII.)

From an engraving by N. H. Jacob.

MARGUERITE DE VALOIS, QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

[*To face p.* 142.

to Calais. The difficulty was as to who should receive her. Francis had, in 1530, taken as his second wife Eleanor, sister of the Emperor Charles; and to Henry to see the Spanish dress was "like seeing a devil"—apart from the fact, about which du Bellay is discreetly silent, that Eleanor would scarcely be willing to receive her aunt's intended successor. Could not Francis bring the Queen of Navarre (Anne's former patroness Marguerite, Duchess of Alençon) to act as hostess?

In his letter du Bellay mentions the great court paid to him by the English King, who takes him with him to the chase, sometimes placing him and Madame Anne together with their crossbows, to shoot at the deer as they pass. Also he shows him coursing, and Madame Anne has given him a hunting dress, with hat and horn and greyhound. Du Bellay is evidently gratified at such marks of esteem.

The other ambassador, Chapuys, who was not similarly honoured, writes to the Emperor that Henry had intended to continue his progress northwards; but, though great preparations had been made, he turned back. "Some say the cause is that in two or three places that he passed through the people urged him to take back the Queen, and the women insulted the Lady." It is at this time that we read of a great riot and unlawful assembly of women at Yarmouth, which it is thought could not have been held without the connivance of their husbands; and there can be little doubt that this disturbance was occasioned by the indignation of the women over the rumours of the King's speedy second marriage.

Henry had, in fact, at last decided that he could

wait no longer on the Pope, and his only anxiety was how to prevent a sentence of excommunication if he proceeded at once to the new marriage. He must have been well aware of the bullying to which Clement was being submitted by the Imperial representatives in Rome, to force him to the direct threat, with a definite time-limit within which Anne must be put away. Ortiz took the lead in this, and writes to the Emperor on August 21st of an interview which he had just had with the Pope. His Holiness had urged that, though he judged that the King was living in mortal sin, others might say it was the custom in England for princes to converse with ladies, and he could not *prove* that there was anything worse than that in this case. It was a bad custom, replied Ortiz, to allow fire and tow to be together! "I shall have to speak to the Pope several times," he says, "for he does not see how he is offending Our Lord by his delay."

Clement, however, was not yet to be moved from his attitude of delay, and, instead of issuing the desired brief, prorogued the King's cause until November.

In England, the chief talk was of the coming journey to Calais. "The King seems never to have desired anything so much," says Chapuys, "for he does not care to speak of anything else. No one else wishes it except the Lady, and the people talk of it in a strange fashion. The Council, and especially the Duke of Suffolk, have spoken so plainly that the King insulted him several times."

Suffolk, in common with everyone else, including Queen Katharine, felt that the journey to Calais meant

nothing less than the irrevocable confirmation of Henry's promise of marriage to Anne. If she went to France in the position of Queen, whether or not the marriage took place instantly, she would come back to be Queen. Therefore her enemies fought with all the strength they dared use to delay the journey.

Fate, however, fought on Henry's and Anne's side against them. On August 23rd died Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who since his action in May, 1527, in the King's interests, had gradually developed into a firm supporter of Katharine, and who had absolutely refused to lend himself to the scheme to defy the Pope. The see of Canterbury was thus vacant; and with an archbishop of more pliable character Henry might hope for success. The joint preparations for the journey and the wedding went forward. The first official step towards both was taken a week after Warham's death.

CHAPTER XI

THE MARCHIONESS OF PEMBROKE

THE step which marked the approaching end of Henry's strange courtship was taken on September 1st, 1532. Two patents had been drawn up, one creating Anne Marchioness of Pembroke—"the lady marquess" was the style by which she was generally called at the period—and the other conferring on her for life an annuity of £1,000, out of the issues of lands in England and Wales.

Henry and his Court were at Windsor on September 1st, which was a Sunday. A manuscript account in the British Museum* relates how the Lady was conveyed by noblemen and heralds to the King, who was accompanied by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the French Ambassador and others. "Mr. Garter" (Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King-at-Arms) bore the patent of creation; and the Lady Mary Howard, Norfolk's daughter, the ermine-furred mantle of crimson velvet and the coronet which Anne was to wear. Dressed in a straight-sleeved surcoat of crimson velvet, also ermine-furred, and with her hair worn flowing and completely covered with the most costly jewels (this touch is given by a describer of the scene in the "Venetian Calendar"), she came before

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. V., page 552. For the patents see page 585.

the King, led by the Countesses of Sussex and Rutland, and knelt while the Bishop of Winchester read out her patent of creation. Then Henry invested her with her mantle and coronet, and handed to her the two patents. She expressed her thanks to him, and returned to her chamber. The manuscript adds the information that she presented to Mr. Garter for her apparel £8, and to the Office of Arms, £11 13s. 4d.; while the King gave them £5.

Chapuys in his report to the Emperor mentions that the creation took place before Mass, and that after Mass, which was performed by the Bishop of Winchester, the King and the French Ambassador drew near to the altar and signed and swore to certain articles. Dr. Foxe having made a speech in praise of the Anglo-French alliance, of which God, not man, he declared, must have been the inventor, "the singers began to sing *Te Deum* and the trumpets and other instruments to do their duty."

There were two curious points about this honour for Anne Boleyn. In the first place, no one had previously been made a peeress in her own right in England, and, secondly, the title was granted in tail male, without reference to the necessity of a son being "lawfully begotten." Whether we need from the second point deduce, as do some of her biographers,* that Anne now yielded to the King is, at least, debatable. At any rate, we may admit that the goal of her ambition was within sight of her eyes. She

* "No other theory," says Friedmann, "will account for all the circumstances—the curious wording of the patent, the promotion of Anne immediately after Warham's death, the nomination of Cranmer [to Canterbury], and the premature birth of Elizabeth."

But, after all, Elizabeth was not born until September 7th, 1533.

could not well have been more publicly announced as Queen Elect, with Katharine's marriage still unbroken.

In Rome, rather oddly, the bestowal of this new title and of the annuity was at first interpreted as meaning that Henry was giving up the struggle and contemplated finding another husband for Anne! Chapuys was not under this delusion in England, with the preparations for the trip to Calais going on before his eyes. On October 1st he describes the Lady busy buying costly dresses, and the King, not content with giving her his own jewels, sending the Duke of Norfolk to obtain the Queen's for her as well. On Norfolk's arrival, Katharine protested that she might not send jewels or anything else to the King, who had long ago forbidden her to do so ; "and, besides, it was against her conscience to give her jewels to adorn a person who was the scandal of Christendom." But if the King expressly asked them of her, she added, she would obey him in this as in other things. Henry thereon sent a gentleman of his chamber to her, and Katharine gave up all the jewellery she had, "wherewith the King was well pleased."

Katharine, according to Chapuys, was much afraid that Henry would marry Anne in Calais ; but the Lady had assured some trusted friend that, even if the King wished that, she would not consent. "She wishes it to be done here, in the place where queens are wont to be married and crowned." Obviously, it was still Anne's to command, and the King's to obey, which may be circumstantial evidence against the theory that she had yet yielded.

It was not until October 11th that Henry and Anne

actually set sail from Dover to Calais. The delay was caused by the vexed question, of which we have already heard, who should act as hostess in France. The Queen of Navarre was ill, or said she was, and could not undertake the task. The French proposed the Duchess of Vendôme ; but Henry objected to her as having been of a gay reputation and as "likely to bring with her companions of bad repute, which would be a disgrace and an insult to the English ladies." Accordingly, the idea of a reception of the Marchioness of Pembroke by a French princess was abandoned, and the suite which was intended to accompany her was reduced considerably.

As far as men were concerned, Henry and the Marchioness were sufficiently splendidly attended on their journey. Her father, her brother, her uncle Norfolk, and Sir James Boleyn, her father's brother, with their retinues, were but a few in a great train of courtiers and men-at-arms. Thomas Wyatt was also of the party, as is witnessed by his lines :

> Sometime I fled the fire that me brent
> By sea, by land, by water, and by wind ;
> And now I follow the coals that be quent,
> From Dover to Calais, against my mind.

Others in attendance on the King were "a legion of doctors and monks who are in his favour about the divorce, and among them the Jews he summoned from Venice," says Chapuys. We hear elsewhere of a Jew who had been taken into counsel as to the Mosaic law with reference to a deceased brother's wife.

The travellers embarked on the *Swallow* at Dover on October 11th, and reached Calais the same night. The meeting between Henry and Francis, at which

no ladies were present, took place at the English frontier on October 21st. They rode together to Boulogne, and on the 25th came to Calais. Lavish and splendid festivities marked the days spent together by the royal pair ; but only on the 27th did Anne meet the French King. It was a Sunday, and the two monarchs heard Mass separately in their own lodgings. In the afternoon Henry called at Staple Hall, where Francis was housed, and, after a display of bear- and bull-baiting there, brought him back to supper. The meal was followed by the appearance of four damsels in crimson satin, carrying tabards, who ushered in eight ladies, masked, and dressed in cloth of gold, slashed with crimson tinsel satin, puffed with cloth of silver and knit with laces of gold. These splendid figures danced with Francis, his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, and the French lords. Henry himself unmasked the ladies, when it was discovered that the Marchioness of Pembroke had been dancing with Francis, Lady Derby with Navarre, and that the other maskers included Lady Fitzwalter, Lady Rochford, Lady Lisle, and Lady Wallop, wife of the Lieutenant of Calais. The dancing then continued for an hour.*

Compared with what Henry had desired in the way of a reception in France for his future wife, the affair at Calais was no doubt a disappointment, and but an insignificant part of the pageantry of the visit as a whole. But Francis was affable to Anne and talked with her for a long time (giving her, we may suppose, more flattery and promises), while before he took farewell

* Wynkyn de Worde (" Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. V., page 623) ; and Hall's " Chronicle."

of Henry on the 29th he seems to have urged him to proceed with the marriage, leaving the defence of his cause before the Pope till afterwards. Chapuys, in England, heard that they had agreed to send a demand to the Pope to declare immediately in favour of the divorce, or to remit the cause to England, in default of which both Kings would abrogate the Papal authority in their realms, and Henry would have the case decided by his own prelates.

Henry had intended to return home soon after the departure of Francis; but bad weather compelled him to remain in Calais until November 13th. On arrival at Dover he spent a few days there, on the pretence of consulting about the construction of harbours in the neighbourhood, but really, says Chapuys, to have an excuse for demanding money from his subjects for the expenses of the journey. On the 24th he reached Eltham, and only on the 26th was he back at Greenwich, with his mission accomplished.

It is pointed out, with pained surprise, by Miss Strickland, in her biography of Anne Boleyn, that the young lady played and won a good deal of money from the King at cards during November. The Privy Purse expenses, indeed, bear this out. At Calais on the 11th Anne won 15s. On the way back through Kent, on the 20th she, with Bryan and Weston (of whom we shall hear again), took £9 6s. 8d. from the King; on the 25th she and Bryan made 20 crowns; at Greenwich on the 26th she, Bryan and Weston again won 80 crowns, and on the 28th she alone, 50 crowns. To make matters worse, as Miss Strickland notes, these orgies were over "Pope Julius's game,"

no doubt with topical allusions, which cannot have been at all ladylike.

As some slight mitigation of our condemnation of Anne for such reprehensible conduct, we may adduce a letter addressed to "the most onerabyll Lady of Penbroke" by Richard Lyst, a lay brother at the Observants' convent at Greenwich, who sympathized with Friar Laurence rather than with the majority of the brethren and acted as an intelligencer against the latter. After telling how he, for answering those who had declared themselves "agaynst God, the Kyngis Grace, and yow," had suffered oftentimes rebukes and troubles, being called in derision her chaplain, though he was not yet a priest, Lyst concluded by acknowledging his indebtedness to her for 40s. for clothing and other things necessary for his poor mother—"but I am half asshamyde and more to begge ony more of yow because yowre Grace hath byn so goode and benyfyssyal unto my poore mother yn tyme past."*

In another letter, to Cromwell on November 7th, Lyst begs to be recommended meekly to "my lady marcus of Penbroke," to whom he and his poor mother were so bound by her charitable benefits.

If this were merely a solitary instance of Anne's charity, bestowed on one who could make some return by championing her cause, in however humble a way, it would scarcely be worth recording; but we shall see that such was not the case. After her accession to the throne, she gave freely in charity, and but for the malice of her enemies she might have been recognized as an open-handed rather than a

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 3rd Series, Vol. II., page 245.

grasping woman. It is true her money went mostly to the poor, which from a worldly point of view was a bad investment, as were her gifts to needy courtiers, when it would have served her better to bribe such enemies as were accessible to bribes.

It cannot be denied, of course, that during the period of his infatuation, Henry was extremely lavish in his gifts to Anne. On the top of his grant of the annuity of £1,000 for life and his present of jewels—not only his own and Katharine's, by the way, but also some of his sister the Duchess of Suffolk's—came a magnificent collection of plate, gilt, parcel-gilt, and silver, comprising cups, bowls, basins, flagons, ewers, spoons, "salts," "chaundillers," some from the King's treasure at York Place, with the royal arms upon them, and some from what the King had acquired at the sale of the late Sir Henry Guildford's plate. In total money-value this gift amounted to £1,188 11s. 10d.

It is possible that this was the King's New Year present at the end of 1532; for, though in the papers at the Record Office the list appears as given by the King's Highness to "my lady marques of Penbroke," it is endorsed as "given unto the Queen," the endorsement thus being subsequent to Anne's marriage on January 25th.

Henry had laid his plans in France for bestowing on the object of his affections the last gift he had to bestow. While still at Calais he had ordered the prorogation of Parliament until February 4th, 1533; and he had sent to the Emperor, notifying him that he was recalling Cranmer, appointing Dr. Nicholas Hawkins as ambassador in his place. With all possibility of opposition in Parliament removed, and with

the bait of the still vacant archbishopric of Canterbury held out to Cranmer, at present no more than an archdeacon, Henry felt that he could act on the lines concerted between himself and Francis. The point was to lose no time. The Pope had at least drafted (or had drafted for him) a brief dated November 15th, in which, beginning with rather mild reproaches against his conduct, he had concluded with a direct threat that unless, within a month of the brief's receipt, Henry took back Katharine and put aside Anne until a Papal decision on the cause should be given, they would both be declared excommunicate. If he should on his own authority divorce himself from Katharine and marry Anne or any other woman, such marriage would be invalid.

This brief was granted by Clement with great reluctance, and only put in the hands of Ortiz in December on condition that it should not be published before the Papal nuncio in England should have spoken to Henry on the subject. But Ortiz was satisfied to give a pledge to this effect, knowing that, at his master's request, the Pope was travelling to Bologna to meet him before the end of the year. He trusted, no doubt, that that Emperor's personal influence would be sufficient to induce Clement to withdraw the condition and allow the immediate publication of the brief. As a matter of fact, however, Charles was able to do little except persuade the Pope to agree to a scheme of his on quite a different matter. He wanted a General Council of the Church to deal with the question of the Lutherans, who were causing him so much trouble in his own realms. Clement agreed, and wrote to both Henry and Francis,

suggesting such a Council "for the extirpation of error." In the circumstances he did not wish to render the two Kings hostile by threatening one of them with excommunication. Besides, there had arrived in Bologna the two French Cardinals, Grammont and Tournon, whom Francis had sent to Italy in accordance with his arrangement with Henry at Calais; and they were able to exert counter-pressure on the Pope to prevent any precipitate action. The Cardinals, writes Benet to Henry on January 14th, "think it advisable not to use threats but pleasant words to the Pope." Nevertheless, with pleasant words they accomplished their ends.

Similarly Henry was using gentle means in England. He avoided meeting the nuncio, but made plausible excuses for not seeing him. He had sent Katharine to Hertford; but he gratified her by releasing, on Christmas Eve, her chaplain Thomas Abel, whom in August he had sent to the Tower for publishing a book in her favour. Katharine appears to have believed that the King was relenting. She heard, Chapuys told the Emperor on January 3rd, that he repented having sent her so far away, and thought God had inspired him to acknowledge his error. Chapuys himself was not of the same opinion. All he saw in Henry was the fear of an adverse decision in the near future, making procrastination his only hope until he could get something done through Convocation and Parliament.

Chapuys was not far wrong. What he did not know, however, was that Henry had carried his procrastination to the requisite point, and had decided to marry first and legalize his position afterwards.

On Cranmer's return to England, he had offered him the archbishopric of Canterbury. Cranmer accepted; but it was still necessary to obtain the Pope's consent to the appointment. Henry accordingly applied to Rome for Bulls, which he had no expectation of not obtaining.

Why then did he not await the arrival of the Bulls, only a matter of a few weeks' delay, before proceeding to the marriage? The only possible conclusion is that, if the date accepted for it is correct, the ceremony had been anticipated, that Anne Boleyn, at some time subsequent to her elevation to the Pembroke title, had abandoned her resistance to her lover, and that she was aware of the consequences of the fact. There appears no escape from the assumption that Henry and Anne were married on January 25th, 1533*; and the future Queen Elizabeth was born on the following September 7th.

The breach of propriety is obvious; but the astonishing thing is, not that it had at last occurred, but that it had not, as Anne's enemies would have

* The alternative date proposed is November 14th, 1532, immediately after the return from Calais, which would have the merit of removing all scandal about Queen Elizabeth in the matter. But Cranmer, in his letter to Hawkins on June 27th, 1533, distinctly says: "You may not imagine that the Coronation was before her marriage, for she was married much about St. Paul's Day last, as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child." He adds that the common report that he married her "is plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done" ("Cranmer's Remains," Vol. I., page 31).

On May 10th Chapuys gives the "Conversion of St. Paul" as the date of the marriage.

Lastly, Ralph Brooke, York Herald, in his "Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, etc.," clearly follows the official date (though it was not ever officially announced) when he assigns the ceremony to January 25th.

been so glad to prove, occurred before. It is easy, in these days of pure and enlightened morality, to condemn a young woman of twenty-five, with an entirely selfish and unscrupulous father and a mother whose character seems to have been too colourless to make any impression on her contemporaries (the insinuations against her were of later date), for giving way after a struggle of at least five years to the importunities of a man who had the power to remove her head the moment he wished to do so. Who would have lifted a finger to save her? Her spell over Henry was her only protection against the hatred of all who sympathized with Queen Katharine, all who held by the tenets of the Church, all who disliked the alliance with France, all who wished to lead the King in different directions from those in which she was guiding him in politics and religion. Pro-French, "a perfect Lutheran" (in the words of Chapuys), and—well, we shall hear shortly some of the terms which her most virulent foes applied to her personal character—she was fighting tremendous odds. The old Boleyn party had practically vanished. Her chief allies were that subterranean worker, Cromwell, the pliant Cranmer, and, where his own interests were not prejudiced, her father. Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Boleyn, on whom of the trio could she rely?

So she played her own hand, in her own way. We cannot tell whether, for conquest, it was necessary for her to stoop as she did. That is a secret which she took with her to her grave in the Tower.

Equally useless is it to inquire whether she loved Henry VIII. In the abominable light in which his

character and personality stand revealed nowadays, the difficulty is to understand how anyone can have loved him. Nor do his looks, to our eyes, commend him; though we know that to his contemporaries he was a very proper figure of a man. Whatever was the essence of his fascination, it has evaporated. Yet Wolsey could write of him as though he were an angel. And Anne was a woman.

CHAPTER XII

ANNE MAKES HER MARRIAGE

ON January 25th, 1533, either at York Place or at Greenwich Palace, there was secretly performed the marriage of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn.* So great was the secrecy that it is not even certain who performed the ceremony. It was not Cranmer; for we have no reason whatever to doubt his statement to Archdeacon Hawkins that he still knew nothing of the marriage a fortnight after it was done. According to what Chapuys heard later, it was George Browne, an Augustinian friar, and this theory is now generally accepted in preference to that which makes the officiating priest Dr. Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, afterwards Bishop of Chester. Lee's name appears in several circumstantial accounts, but it is not possible to trace them back to their origin.

If the name of the priest is doubtful, so also are those of the witnesses of the marriage. We know that Norfolk was not present, for he several times stated as much when it would have been the best policy to admit it if he had been present. To Chapuys he affirmed that, though he was not there, "there were men in the Council who had witnessed it." He refused, however, to give their names, in spite of the

* "In the closet at White-Hall," says Ralph Brooke—White-Hall (or Whitehall) being, as has been explained, the new name for York Place.

Imperial ambassador's comment on the strangeness of a prince with such loyal subjects as Henry performing such an act in a corner (*soub la cheminée*). What the ambassador himself had heard was that those present were the Lady's father, mother, brother, two of her favourites, and one of the King's priests. The assistance of some of her immediate family is at least likely.

The marriage was accomplished, for which Anne had striven so hard. The awkward fact remained that, in the eyes of the Church, and of the world in general, Katharine of Aragon was still Henry's lawful wife, and that only the proof that Katharine had never held that position could make the new union valid. Therefore Henry could not publish the marriage until he was in a state to get someone to declare, with a show of authority, that he had all along been free to marry. The instrument was ready, in Cranmer ; but Cranmer's authority could not be held up, even by Henry, until the Pope had confirmed him in the archbishopric. Great circumspection was thus still needed lest any breath of the event of January 25th should get abroad before there was a regularly consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in existence.

It was in particular necessary to keep on good terms with de Burgo, who had been endeavouring for weeks to obtain an audience of the King. He would appear to have got to see him about the middle of January and to have spoken of the brief of November 15th, only to be put off with evasions. On the 29th of the month, however, he prevailed on Norfolk to arrange another audience for the morrow. Accordingly on January 30th he was officially received

From the painting by Gerlach Flick in the National Portrait Gallery.

THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[*To face p.* 160.

by Henry, and spent the whole day with him and his Council, going from one to the other. Chapuys called on him afterwards, trying to find out what had happened. De Burgo would not even admit that he had had any interviews. The Imperial ambassador was inclined to suspect him of being favourable to some compromise over the divorce, and says that he confessed to having had large offers made to him with that in view.*

It does not seem that de Burgo was allowed to mention the threatening brief. Anyhow, there is no hint of his having done so. Henry treated him with a great show of honour, and insisted on his accompanying him to the House of Lords on February 8th, making him sit on his right hand, while the French ambassador, Montpesat, sat on his left. On the following day he was induced to attend the sitting of the House of Commons also. It was with some difficulty that Norfolk was able to persuade him to this, as he feared to lend his presence to a meeting where something derogatory to the Pope's authority might be discussed. Care was taken that this should not happen. And now the nuncio had been exhibited in both Houses, obviously on the best of terms with the King, an ingenious plan for disarming suspicion of the utter defiance of the Pope's command which had just been perpetrated.

While the secret of the marriage had been perfectly kept, and the nuncio was being cajoled with appearances of friendship, the King and the Lady made no concealment of their *intention* to get married. They had never spoken so much nor so openly of

* Chapuys to the Emperor, February 9th, 1533.

their matrimonial purpose, says Chapuys. "The other day the Lady told a priest who wished to enter her service that he must wait a little until she had celebrated her marriage with the King." In another of the ambassador's letters it is related how, early in February, the Lady several times said she felt it as sure as death that the King would marry her shortly. As for her father, he told the Earl of Rutland that the King did not mean to be so considerate as he had been, but would complete the marriage, "which being once done by the authority of Parliament, they could pacify objectors more easily than now." Would Rutland, as a kinsman of the King, he asked, oppose the scheme? Rutland replied that the matter was a spiritual one and could not be decided by Parliament; whereat Wiltshire abused him heartily, and forced him at length to say that he would agree to whatever the King wished. "The Lady's father," comments Chapuys, "had not declared himself until the present, but, as the Duke of Norfolk has several times told me, had rather dissuaded the King than otherwise."

On February 23rd, the ambassador had got at least an inkling of the truth; for he heard, and communicated to the Emperor, that "the elect of Canterbury" had performed the marriage, in the presence of the witnesses whom we have mentioned above. A little later he relates how on St. Matthias's Day the Lady received the King at dinner in her richly tapestried chamber, wherein was the most beautiful sideboard of gold that ever was seen. She sat on Henry's right, and the old Duchess of Norfolk (Anne, dowager duchess) on his left, while at a transverse table at the end of theirs sat Sir Thomas Audley, now

full Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and many other guests. "During dinner the King was so much occupied with mirth and talk that he said little that could be understood; but he said to the Duchess of Norfolk: 'Has not the Marchioness got a grand dowry and a rich marriage, as all that we see?—and the rest of the plate belongs to the Lady also.'"

Such talk as this was perhaps designed to mislead the hearers into thinking that the King was only jesting; for Henry certainly did not want the actual fact of his marriage to come out yet. He wished Francis to hear the news first, and it was not until March 11th that he issued a warrant to Lord Rochford to proceed to France, with instructions to inform the King that his advice had been acted upon and to ask him to order his representatives in Rome to join with those of England in urging the Pope and the Cardinals to accept the accomplished fact. As, however, he had previously induced Francis to assure His Holiness that he would take no immediate step—thus encouraging Clement in his policy of delaying excommunication—it is not surprising that the French King was little pleased at the news. He was arranging to have a personal meeting with the Pope; and now his English ally had put him in a false position. Rochford did not have a good reception. As usual, the enemies of the Boleyn family attributed this to arrogance on his part, for which there is no evidence. It was only two months later that Henry employed him on another mission to Francis, in conjunction with his uncle Norfolk.

The situation in Rome was a remarkable one. Henry's request for the confirmation of Cranmer's

appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury had been received, and, in spite of Chapuys having frequently warned the Emperor against him, Cranmer was proposed in Consistory on February 21st, and the Bulls were issued next day. Then, on the 24th, a treaty was signed between the Emperor and the Pope, providing for the defence of Italy against the Turks; but with a clause inserted, at the Emperor's request, that the English divorce cause should not be tried anywhere except Rome, while the Pope agreed to act upon his brief of November 15th. If, as Chapuys implies,* de Burgo had presented the brief to Henry in January, the time-limit for putting away Anne had expired, and the Emperor was entitled to demand action. Yet at this very period we find Henry writing to Benet to tell the Pope: "Ye be St. Peter's successor, a fisher, who when he draweth his net too fast and too hard, then he breaketh it; and pulling it softly taketh fish good plenty!" Princes, adds Henry, are great fishes and must be handled with policy.†

Clement's lot, at the hands of the three great monarchs and their agents, was indeed unhappy; and it is not to be wondered at that his policy was that of China towards the Western Powers in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, to meet the weapons of strength with the weapon of weakness.

Henry was now clearing the way for the public acknowledgment of his second marriage, with the

* Chapuys to the Emperor, February 9th, 1523: "The month fixed in the brief to the King is nearly passed, and there are no signs of his obeying it."

† "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., page 86.

religious consequences which it involved. He was well aware that he could not make it popular at home ; but he was determined to show that he was acting in accordance with his conscience. There being no Press in those days to be inspired, his chief means of reaching the public was through the preachers. We have seen how he organized a campaign from the pulpits in 1532 ; and this he continued energetically. Chapuys tells how in March, 1533, he got a priest to preach, before him and the Lady, that all the while he had lived with the Queen he had been guilty of adultery, and that all good subjects should pray to God to pardon his offence and enlighten him at once to take another wife. It was the duty of his Council even to constrain him to such a course, regardless of censure from the Pope, who should not be obeyed in this matter, as what he commanded was against God and against reason. It would be no cause for wonder, the preacher added, if His Majesty took to himself a wife of humble condition, in consideration of her merits, as Saul and David had done.

After the previous exaltation of Anne's lineage, this last apology sounds rather curious. But the prejudice in favour of a " royal " marriage had to be regarded.

At the same time as this appeal to God and reason against the Pope, a measure was pressed forward in Parliament to prevent recourse to Rome in ecclesiastical matters and to make the introduction of Bulls of excommunication an offence punishable by the penalties of *praemunire*—a comfortable word indeed to Henry VIII. !

Before the end of March the long expected Bulls arrived from Rome, confirming the appointment of

Archbishop Cranmer, to the great regret of everyone, asserts Chapuys, who tells his master: "There is not a lord at this Court, either on the King's side or on the Queen's, who does not publicly say that His Holiness will betray Your Majesty." Unwittingly, of course, Clement had already done so. The consecration of Cranmer on March 30th marked the end of the struggle which had begun in 1527 to get rid of Katharine. It also marked the advent of many much more important things.

Events moved with great rapidity. On Palm Sunday, March 31st, the Bishop of Rochester was arrested and put under the charge of his brother of Winchester, nominally on account of having alleged that Lord Rochford had taken over to Paris huge sums to be used as bribes by the French agents in Rome, but really for his persistent advocacy of the Queen's cause, culminating in his resistance to the measures just brought forward in the Convocation of Canterbury. Convocation decided, under compulsion, but by very big majorities, (1) that the Pope had no dispensing power for marriage with a brother's widow when she had been *cognita*, and (2) that Katharine had been *cognita*. Thus at length Henry felt free to announce his marriage with Anne, and decided to inform the hapless Katharine, now secluded at Ampthill under the supervision of Lord Mountjoy.

On April 9th, the Wednesday before Easter, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Oxford and others waited on Katharine, and told her that she must henceforward abstain from using the title of Queen and would be known as Princess Dowager of Wales, while the King would allow her

a pension of £8,000. On her protest that she *was* Queen and would not relinquish her pretensions, Chapuys says that Norfolk told her that it did not matter, as the King had married Anne Boleyn more than two months ago.

Chapuys further alleges that "this cursed Anne" not only intended to do the Queen all the harm she could, but had boasted that she meant to have the Princess Mary for her maid or to marry her to some varlet. In his wrath he suggests that it would be right to foment an armed rising in England, and to lend Imperial assistance to Scotland. He supposed naturally that the Emperor would be anxious to avenge the cruel slight to his aunt, and had hopes that the Pope would now "call in the secular arm" to reinforce excommunication. He did not, of course, know that only a few days after his own letter to Charles, Clement, urged by Ortiz that as soon as he was assured of Henry's contumacy he should declare him excommunicated, would only reply that he must see what he ought to do !*

April 12th was Easter Eve, and to celebrate the occasion Anne went to Mass in the King's Chapel at Greenwich in royal state, loaded with jewels and clad in a dress of cloth of gold frieze. Her train was carried by her cousin, the Lady Mary Howard, lately affianced to the Duke of Richmond, illegitimate son of the King, and a suite of sixty young ladies accompanied her, among whom probably was her favourite friend Margaret, sister of Thomas Wyatt and wife of Sir Anthony Lee. So she was escorted to the church and back, with even more solemnities than had been

* Ortiz to the Emperor, April 14th, 1533.

observed for Katharine; and the preacher offered prayers for her by name. "All the world is astonished," says Chapuys, "for it looks like a dream, and even those who take her part know not whether to laugh or cry. The King is very watchful, and begs the lords go visit and pay their court to the new Queen, whom he intends to have solemnly crowned after Easter."

On Easter Day Dr. Browne, now made head of the Augustinian order (as a reward for having performed the ceremony on January 25th, according to Chapuys), preached a sermon in which he bade the people in future expressly to pray for Queen Anne. At this the majority of the congregation took their departure, with great murmurings and ill looks, not waiting for the rest of the sermon. The King was much annoyed over the occurrence, and sent word to the Lord Mayor to see that nothing of the kind happened again. Endeavouring to carry out his orders, the Lord Mayor assembled the City Companies and warned them that not only must they not murmur against the King's marriage, but also they must prevent their apprentices, "and, what is more difficult, their wives," from doing so. Such prohibitions, however, only served to embitter the hearts of the people.*

Henry had received from the Archbishop of Canterbury on Easter Eve a letter dated from Lambeth on the previous day, in which permission was asked "to take cognizance of His Grace's great cause of matrimony." This letter had, of course, been prearranged; and Henry replied to it with a license to proceed. Cranmer at once cited Katharine to appear before his court at the Augustinian monastery

* Chapuys to the Emperor, April 27th, 1533.

of Dunstable—not, as is sometimes represented, a particularly inconvenient place for Katharine to get to from Ampthill, in the same county, though there is no doubt that Cranmer was not at all anxious for her presence at the court. Katharine, for her part, advised by Chapuys, scorned the citation ; and when proceedings opened at Dunstable on May 10th she was neither present herself nor represented by anyone else. The Archbishop declared her contumacious, and on the 23rd gave his formal judgment that the marriage between Henry and Katharine of Aragon was invalid. Returning to Lambeth, on the 28th he pronounced that the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn was lawful. The purpose of his elevation to the see of Canterbury was accomplished, and the way for the ceremony of crowning Anne as Queen was now clear.

Chapuys had not omitted to register his protest on behalf of the Emperor, having written personally to Henry on the 5th, and having thereafter a long discussion with the Chancellor, the Earl of Wiltshire, and the rest of the Council. Though Chapuys was fairly outspoken, a direct quarrel was avoided. But the ambassador wrote to Charles begging him to send over troops, and assuring him that the late King Richard, who had been chased out of his kingdom by two or three thousand Frenchmen, had never been so hated as this King.

Chapuys was much in error as to the hatred felt for Henry. He was more correct with regard to the unpopularity of Anne, to whose efforts to gain the good will of London he refers without specifying what they were. He says that the Londoners—the City authorities, it is to be presumed—wish all the

inhabitants to contribute to the cost of the Coronation, which will mean 5,000 crowns—3,000 as a present for the Lady and the rest for the ceremonial. "Formerly there was no opposition to this contribution. Now they compel even foreigners to contribute; but I hear they will have the decency to exempt the Spaniards." The Spaniards were, in fact, exempted.

One more piece of gossip is related to the Emperor in connection with the preparations for the Coronation. This the ambassador got from the Duke of Norfolk before his departure to France. Henry had decided to send Norfolk and Rochford to the French King, so that they should be present at his interview with the Pope and endeavour to prevent any immediate action hostile to himself being taken. Knowing from Rochford how ill Francis had received the news of his marriage, Henry attached such importance to this new mission that he hurried his two envoys out of the country before the Coronation, at which, accordingly, Anne's brother and uncle were not allowed to be present. On the eve of his journey Norfolk confided to Chapuys that there had been trouble over the seizure of the late Queen's barge to convey Anne up the Thames from Greenwich to the Tower. The new Queen's chamberlain (Thomas, Lord Burgh of Gainsborough) not only took the barge, but removed and mutilated Katharine's arms upon it. According to Norfolk, Henry was annoyed, and rather roughly rebuked Lord Burgh. The barge, he said, belonged to Katharine, and there were many others in the river quite as suitable.

Nevertheless, Anne kept the barge, and in it made her triumphal procession up the Thames.

From the painting by Holbein, in the Royal Collection at Windsor.

THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[*To face p.* 170.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CORONATION FESTIVITIES

HENRY was determined that the ceremonies marking the elevation of his beloved to the throne should lack nothing that had adorned previous events of the kind. If they had been married "in a corner," she should at least be crowned in a full blaze of glorious publicity. Cromwell seems to have been the organizer, in his capacity of Master of the Jewels. At any rate, a letter to him from Sir Anthony Browne exists, in which he is given chief credit.* And, in spite of the malicious sneers of Chapuys, it is obvious that there was a magnificent spectacle, or rather series of spectacles, which did not fail to impress all beholders.

Proceedings began on Thursday, May 29th, with Anne's progress by water to the Tower, whither Henry had gone on ahead secretly, so that he might be able to receive her on arrival. The City Companies, in their various barges, had waited on the Lord Mayor, Sir Stephen Peacock, who, in the barge of his own craft, the Haberdashers, richly hung with cloth of gold, marshalled them and proceeded with them down to Greenwich. According to a manuscript preserved in the College of Arms, there were forty-eight barges

* Letter of June 12th, 1533. "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., page 287.

in attendance on the Mayor, all decked with arras and hung with banners and with pennons of the arms of the crafts in fine gold, which flashed in the sunlight. Every barge had guns on board, and in addition there were two "foistes, with great shot of ordnance," which went before the barges. These "foistes" were a species of gunboat and presented a wonderful sight. One carried the new Queen's device, a white falcon, crowned, on a mount, standing upon a "rowte" of gold, encircled with red and white roses—signifying the hope that Anne would produce an heir to the lines of York and Lancaster. About the mount sat a chorus of virgins, singing and playing. On the other foiste was the figure of a great red dragon, casting out wildfire from his mouth, and surrounded by monsters and savage men; truly a contrast to the chorus of virgins.

Off Greenwich Palace the barge about which her chamberlain had had the trouble was waiting for Anne to come on board between three and four o'clock. It is described by a French observer, Camusat, as a boat like a brigantine, painted with Anne's colours outside, and adorned with many banners. The barges of the lords spiritual and temporal were in attendance, and with the exception of Norfolk and Rochford practically the whole peerage of the realm was represented. At length Anne, accompanied by her train of ladies, embarked, and the whole fleet, joined by the barges of the City Companies, set out for the Tower. It was a marvellous sight, says the College of Arms manuscript, how the barges kept such good order and space between them that every man could see the decking and garnishing of each. "Also the

trumpets blowing, shallmes, and minstrels playing were a right sumptuous and triumphant sight to see and hear all the way as they passed upon the waters, to hear the sayd marvellous sweet armone of the sayd ynstermentes, the which sounded to be a thinge of a nother world." "It was a very beautiful sight," agrees the French observer, "for besides the vessels there were more than two hundred small boats which brought up the rear. The whole river was crowded."

Orders had been given that, when Her Grace's barge came over against Wapping mills, the Tower guns were to be fired; and so now they "lousyd their ordinaunce," firing four guns at once. In all over a thousand shots were fired here, "besides other shotts that were shott at Lymehouse and in other shipps lying in the Thames," so that the din must have been sufficient to drown "the marvellous sweet armone of the ynstermentes."

When the progress reached the Tower, towards five in the evening, a long gangway was found prepared among the crowd of spectators, leading up to the King's Bridge at the Tower entrance. Anne landed, accompanied by the lords and ladies, and the Mayor, Recorder and two aldermen as representatives of the City, while the rest, remaining on their barges, "hoved before the Tower, making great melody." She was first received by Sir Edward Walsingham, Lieutenant, and Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, with the latter of whom she was destined to renew acquaintance one day in most unhappy circumstances on the same spot. After reception by other dignitaries on behalf of the King, Anne, with her train still following, walked toward the Tower. The

King met her and, laying his hands on both her sides, kissed her "with great reverence and a joyful countenance." She turned and expressed her thanks to the Mayor and citizens of London. Then the King led her to her chamber, preceded by the Officers of Arms. Everyone went to his lodging, except certain noblemen and gentlemen in waiting, while the King and Queen supped, "and after supper there was sumptuous void."*

This account is drawn from the sources mentioned, with others in the "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," supplemented by the note by Charles Wriothesley (son of the Garter King-at-Arms and himself Windsor Herald in 1534) in his "Chronicle of England." They do not at all bear out the sneer of Chapuys that the triumph consisted entirely in the multitude of those that took part in it, while all the people showed themselves as sorry as though it had been a funeral. Doubtless there were murmurings among Katharine's friends; but it is not the habit of the populace to despise the charm of pageantry.

Friday was spent by Henry and Anne in the royal apartments of the Tower, the chief event being the attendance at dinner of the eighteen or nineteen Knights elect of the Bath, whose creation was to be the first act of the morrow's ceremony. Among them may be noted Francis Weston. Sixty-three other knights were "made with the sword" in honour of the Coronation, but not until later than those of the Bath.

On Saturday it had been arranged for Anne to make

* The "void" was the dessert or finish-up of a repast. "There was a void of spice-plates and wine."—"The Coronation of Anne Boleyn," in Arber's "English Garner," Vol. II., page 50.

another progress, this time by land from the Tower to Westminster. The streets through which she was to pass, as far as Temple Bar, had been gravelled, and on one side was a railing. All the windows were hung with tapestry, cloth of gold and other draperies, and the windows were full of ladies. From Gracechurch Street to the Little Conduit in Cheapside were drawn up on one side the City Companies, and on the other the constables in velvet and silk, staff in hand. First in the procession came the new Knights of the Bath, in blue gowns with hoods on their shoulders, purfled with white and with white silk laces. Anne followed in an open horse-litter covered inside and out with cloth of silver, drawn by two palfreys caparisoned with white damask. "Sitting in her hair," as Cranmer notes in his already quoted letter to Hawkins, she wore a surcoat and mantle of white cloth of tissue, furred with ermine; and her hair, if down, was confined by a caul or coif, with a circlet of precious stones surmounting it. Over her head was carried, by four knights of the Cinque Ports in scarlet gowns, a canopy variously described as of cloth of silver and of cloth of gold. Beside the litter rode the Duke of Suffolk and Lord William Howard, the latter as deputy for his brother, the absent Duke of Norfolk.

Twelve ladies on horse followed immediately after the litter, clad in cloth of gold; then a chariot covered with the same material, in which were "divers ancient old ladies"—as a matter of fact, the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk and the Dowager Marchioness of Dorset (though one account substitutes Lady Wiltshire for the latter); then twelve more ladies on horseback, in crimson velvet; then three more gilded chariots,

carrying younger ladies ; and lastly twelve more on horseback, in black velvet.

A great escort accompanied these of the nobility and gentry of the realm, Court officials, two Archbishops, the French and Venetian ambassadors, representatives of the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, and twelve other French gentlemen. The rear was brought up by the Guard, " in coats of goldsmith's work."

Various striking pageants were shown on scaffolds along the route, and there were " encomies spoken of children to her." In Cheapside the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London awaited Anne, and, in Wriothesley's words, " the Recorder made a goodly preposition to her, and then the Major [the Recorder, Master Baker, according to Stow] gave her a purse of cloath of golde, with a thousand markes of angell nobles in it, for a presente for the whole bodie of the Cittie."

The progress continued to St. Paul's, at the east end of which was a scaffold wherefrom the children of St. Paul's School repeated poetry in honour of the King and Queen, which she highly commended. At length Westminster was reached, where Anne alighted from her litter, and entering the Hall took her place at the high dais, where a service of spice and " suttilties " was offered her, with ypocras and other wines. This she sent to her ladies ; and then, thanking all those who had attended her, she withdrew to her chamber in the White Hall, and then went secretly by barge to the King at his manor of Westminster. As on the previous day, Henry had taken no part in the pageantry, but, having come on ahead, merely waited for her at the end of it.

A hostile observer, who is possibly Chapuys,* asserts that no one, either in London or the suburbs, knelt or uncovered or cried "God save the King, God save the Queen," when Anne passed, and that, when one of her servants told the Lord Mayor to command the people to make the customary shouts, Peacock answered that he could not command people's hearts; while her fool (who had been to Jerusalem and spoke several languages!), seeing the little honour done to her, cried out, "I think you have all scurvy heads and dare not uncover!" How much to believe of this it is impossible to say. If Chapuys was the writer, it was not his business to report favourably on the proceedings.

The Spanish "Chronicle of Henry VIII.," a contemporary document, which has been edited in English by Mr. Hume, also asserts that though, as Anne passed through the City, she kept turning her head from one side to the other to greet the people, "there were hardly ten persons who greeted her with 'God save Your Grace,' as they used to when the sainted Queen Katharine went by." The same writer asserts that when Henry received Anne that evening he asked, "How like you the look of the City, sweetheart?" and that she replied, "Sir, the City itself was well enough; but I saw many caps on heads, and heard but few tongues." Now, of all the Emperor's subjects, a Spaniard was the least likely to look on Queen Anne's progress with an unprejudiced eye. We lack English confirmation of such *ex parte* reports.

June 1st was Whit Sunday, and Anne was up

* See "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., page 266, from a lost document.

betimes for the exacting programme of the day. It was between eight and nine a.m. when she set out on foot from her lodging of the night to Westminster Hall, the road being carpeted with cloth. Archbishop Cranmer, accompanied by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bath and St. Asaph, and thirteen abbots, all in pontificals, proceeded out of the Abbey to Westminster Hall, " where," writes Cranmer to Hawkins, " we received the Queen, apparelled in a robe of purple velvet, and all the ladies and gentlemen in robes and gowns of scarlet, according to the manner used beforetime in such business." He notes again that Anne was " in her hair ; " but as we have fuller accounts from Wriothesley and others, we will now use those.

After her meeting with the clergy in Westminster Hall, Anne started with them for the Abbey, the Duke of Suffolk bearing her crown before her and two Earls bearing her sceptre and her ivory rod. Over her head was a canopy of cloth of gold, borne by sixteen representatives of the Cinque Ports. She wore a kirtle of crimson velvet and over it a robe of purple velvet, both furred with ermine. On her hair was a caul of pearls and stones in addition to her coronet. Behind her walked the old Duchess of Norfolk, scarlet-robed and coronetted, carrying her train, with her chamberlain, Lord Burgh, " staying the traine in the middes," and the Bishops of London and Winchester bearing up the laps of her robe on each side. Ten ladies, also scarlet-robed and coronetted, followed immediately after her, and then all her maids, in gowns of scarlet, with " white lettushe fur."

After entering the Abbey, Anne rested a while on a

rich chair between the choir and the high altar, and then proceeded to the altar, where Cranmer with the appointed ceremonies anointed and crowned her. He crowned her first with the crown of St. Edward, which being too heavy—we know that she had a little neck!—was taken off, and the one made for her was put on. She mounted to a high platform, erected near the altar and covered with red cloth, and on a raised and tapestried seat sat through the Mass which followed, wearing her crown. She received the Sacrament and made her offering at St. Edward's shrine. At the end of the service all present left, in order of precedence, for Westminster Hall again, the Queen under her canopy, with sceptre and rod in her hands, supported by her father and Francis, Lord Talbot, representing his father the Earl of Shrewsbury. All the way from where she sat in the Abbey to the high dais in Westminster Hall, both coming and going, she had walked upon blue striped cloth, and along a railed-in passage. Enclosed, too, was the table at which she was to partake of the banquet prepared, and none might enter the rails except those deputed to serve her. Rich cloth of arras hung all around the walls.

Now came the wedding feast, without the bridegroom; for Henry, in the company of the French and Venetian ambassadors, Dinteville and Capello, only watched the scene from a distance, in a cabinet which he had had constructed for the occasion in the cloisters of St. Stephen's. It was a strange spectacle which met their eyes; strange, at least, to read of nowadays. At the door of the great hall were conduits pouring out wine, and there were kitchens to give viands to

all-comers, "the consumption of which," we are told, "was enormous." Within, Anne sat with the Archbishop of Canterbury at her table at the upper end, raised twelve steps from the ground. Down the hall below were four other tables. At the nearer one on the right hand of the Queen's sat the lords spiritual and temporal, on the left the duchesses and other ladies. The Barons of the Cinque Ports were at the further table to the right, the Lord Mayor of London and the aldermen at the corresponding one to the left. When the Queen's Grace had washed her hands—the chief ewerer was Sir Henry Wyatt, but he was unable to be present, so that his son Thomas deputized for him and poured out the water for the lady he had so much admired—there came riding into the hall, bareheaded and on coursers caparisoned in crimson velvet, the Duke of Suffolk, who was not only High Constable for the day but steward of the feast, and Lord William Howard. This was a sign for the meal to begin. Suffolk and Howard rode up and down and around the tables, to see that all went well, while the Queen was personally waited upon by the Earl of Sussex as sewer, the Earl of Essex as carver, the Earl of Derby as cupbearer, and Viscount Lisle as pantler.

We will content ourselves with Wriothesley's account of the feast. "The goodlie dishes, with the delicate meates," he says, "and the settles, which were all gilt, with the noble service that daie done by great men of the realm, the goodlie sweete armonie of minstrells, with other things, were to[o] long to expresse, which was a goodlie sight to see and behold."

When the Queen had dined and had washed her hands again, she stood awhile under the canopy of

state and gazed down the hall. Then came the Earl of Sussex bringing a void of spice and confections, and the Lord Mayor of London a standing cup of gold. Anne partook of the confections and gave the rest to the lords and ladies. She drank wine from the cup and presented it to the Lord Mayor. She made a gift of the canopy to the Barons of the Cinque Ports. The Justices of the King's Bench (who had lent their hall for the occasion) came forward and knelt to her as she prepared to leave. "I thank you all for the honour which you have done me," she said,* and then she departed. It was six p.m., and she had been nearly ten hours in the public view. It is little wonder that we find some rather curious details as to the means adopted to give her at times a certain amount of privacy! Now she hastened to her room to change her apparel, and "so," says Wriothesley, "departed secreetlie by water to York Place, which is called White Hall."

Even now not all the ceremonies in connection with the Coronation were over. On the next day, June 2nd, there were jousts, at which it had been hoped that French knights would appear on one side. But, whether or not through the pique of Francis at the position in which Henry had placed him with regard to the Pope, they had not come, and instead two parties of eight English knights, led by Lord William Howard and Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, engaged in a tourney, at which the horses for some reason showed little spirit, so that the entertainment was poor. After this the Court went down to

* Account by Sir John Spelman or Spillman, June 1st, 1533. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI.)

Greenwich, where for some days banquets and dances succeeded one another. There was no lack of gaiety. Writing to Lord Rochford in France, Sir Edward Baynton, one of Anne's chamberlains, tells him on June 9th: "As for pastime in the Queen's chamber, was never more. If any of you that be now departed have any ladies that they thought favoured you and would somewhat mourn at the parting of their servants, I can no whit perceive the same by the dancing and pastime they do use here."

Rochford's own wife, apparently, was not one of those who took part in the rejoicings over the new Queen, for we hear of her being committed to the Tower some time before this, to teach a lesson to those who were so bold as to express openly their disapprobation of the divorce of Katharine. Lady Rochford became, indeed, a deadly enemy to Anne and to her own husband.

Another connection by marriage who showed her annoyance at Anne's elevation and her affection for the old Queen was the Duchess of Norfolk—not the Dowager, who was Anne's friend, but Elizabeth, a daughter of the former Duke of Buckingham, and wife of the former ally of the Boleyns, now himself scarcely a concealed foe.

Chapuys, in his letter to the Emperor of June 16th, after summing up the events of Whitsuntide as "a cold, meagre and uncomfortable thing, to the great dissatisfaction, not only of the common folk, but also of the rest," asserts that "the indignation of everybody about this affair has increased by half since the Coronation." What evidence we have points to

this "indignation" being to a large extent fomented by the discontented section of the clergy; a very large section, it must be admitted, and a section with a very legitimate grievance against the King and his advisers. Their methods, however, were scarcely in keeping with their calling. It was natural, perhaps, that Peto and Elston, from their safe retreat in Antwerp, should endeavour to stir up rebellion among their brother Observants in England. But the conduct, and the language, of some of the priests at home might certainly be described, in the Sixteenth Century phrase, as "going beyond the moon." Refusals to pray for the King and Queen were small matters in comparison with what they did outside their churches.

For instance, we have the story that a certain priest, whose name appears as "Sir Rauf Wendon," did at King's Sutton, Warwickshire, about St. George's Day, declare that the Queen was a harlot, and that there was a prophecy that "a many should be burned at Smithfield, and he trusted it would be the end of Queen Anne."* The accusation was made by a fellow-priest, Thomas Gebons, and might possibly be explained as prompted by spite. But there can be no doubt about an incident which occurred a little

* With this burning prediction compare the ravings of Mrs. Amadas, wife of Cromwell's predecessor as Master of the Jewels. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," July, 1533.) That lady, who confessed that for twenty years she had been "looking upon prophecies," admitted to having said, among many foolish things, that, "if the Queen be not burnt within this half-year, I will be burnt myself." It is perhaps of some significance that at this time Robert Amadas was charged with owing the King for plate lacking, while it was under his charge, over £1,771—though this does not explain Mrs. Amadas's prophecy!

later in the year. We read* that the Earl of Derby and Sir William Farington were sent down to Lancashire to investigate the report that "a lewde and noghty priest inhabytyng in these partyes" had been indulging in "unfittyng and sklaunderous sayings."

An examination was held at Leigh on August 10th, when it was deposed by a number of witnesses that, on the reading of the proclamation of the previous month concerning Lady Katharine, Princess Dowager, the priest in question, "Sr. Jamys Harrison," said that he would take none for Queen but Queen Katharine; and as for Nan Boleyn, "that noghty pake or hoore"—the witnesses were not certain of the word used—who the devil made her Queen? The King himself should be no King but on his bearing (according to his behaviour). A few days later Harrison had observed that he would never take Nan Boleyn for Queen—be hanged for the same!—but for Nan Boleyn.

The slanderous Harrison was accordingly attached and sent up to London to be dealt with.

The tale which follows does not concern any priestly slanderer, but it may be noted that the offender came from Antwerp, where the rebellious Observants were living. A certain John Coke, secretary to the Merchant Adventurers, writes to Cromwell from Barowe (Bergen-op-Zoom), on May 24th, that a naughty person of "Andwarp" had resorted to the town for the Easter market with images and pictures in cloth—painted canvases—to sell, "among the

* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, Vol. II., page 41. The King's Sutton affair appears in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., "Examination of Sir Thomas Gebons, priest."

which clothes he had a picture of our soveraigne Lord the Kyng (whom our Lorde preserve). And this day settyng up the same picture upon the Burse to sell, he pynned upon the body of the said picture a Wenche made in cloth, holdyng a paier of balance in her hands; in th' one balance was fygured too hands togeder, and in th' other balance a fether, with a scripture over her head, saiyng that Love was lighter then a fether, whereat the Spanyards and other of the Duche nacion had greate pleasure in deridying, jestyng and laughyng therat, and spekyng sondry opprobrious words agenst his moost noble Grace and moost gracious Quene his bedfelowe."

By the agency of Coke this naughty person was brought up before the authorities of Bergen and warned that he must commit no suchlike thing upon pain of forfeiture of all his merchandise.

Some time after Cromwell got another letter, from his friend Stephen Vaughan, enclosing "certeyn verses whiche the lewde and malycious studyents of Lovayn spitefully pricke upp upon Dores and Corners in Lovayn again the Kinge and Quene theyr Majests, whiche if yow will yowe may shew theyr Graces."*

In such a pleasing way did the enemies of Henry and his new Queen, at home and abroad, show their disapproval of the marriage. Anne, however, may have been spared the degradation of hearing what was said and written about her; for at the beginning of her short life upon the throne Henry, in expectation of legitimate male issue to carry on the succession, was anxious to shield her from outside annoyances.

* These two letters are from Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, Vol. II., page 42, and 3rd Series, Vol. II., page 284.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BIRTH OF ELIZABETH

MANY people besides Henry and Anne were expecting anxiously the sequel to their long-drawn-out romance. In fact, it is not too much to say that the eyes, not only of England, but of Europe in general, were turned to watch what would happen to Anne the Queen, whether she would bring to Henry the fulfilment of his dearest ambition, a son to succeed him on the throne. If this should come about, it was felt that his triumph over his enemies was assured—unless, indeed, the Pope could be persuaded to proceed at once to declare that Katharine was still his wife and so render any son born to him by Anne illegitimate in the eyes of all good Churchmen. On June 28th, Chapuys was writing to the Emperor, impressing on him the necessity of a Papal sentence "before the Lady is brought to bed, since if a son is born the King will immediately get fealty sworn to him in Parliament as a prince."

Henry was not blind to the possibility of Papal action, even at this late date; and he took the precaution of summoning the Archbishop of York to Greenwich and registering before him on June 29th an appeal from the Pope to a future General Council of the Church, in case of a sentence of excommuni-

cation—a step which, as Roman Catholic historians have pointed out, he was not entitled to take. Moreover, he had the Duke of Norfolk busy with his interests in France, where his instructions were to dissuade the King, if possible, from meeting Clement at all, or, if he could not do that, to accompany him to the meeting-place and influence him to prevent all action until the event should have happened which would enable Henry to snap his fingers at the Pope.* Norfolk was unable to get in personal touch with Francis until July 10th; but in the meantime, the conference with Clement had been for other reasons postponed; and Francis told the English ambassador that he might be present at it when it came off. The place suggested was Nice, and the date early in September.

This might seem to give Henry a respite; but such was not really the case. The Imperial pressure on the Pope had at last proved beyond his power of resistance. On July 11th His Holiness declared Cranmer's proceedings null and pronounced sentence of the greater excommunication against Henry, giving him, however, six weeks within which to save himself by putting Anne away and taking back Katharine. Norfolk had been making his way slowly to the South of France, by the direction of the French King, and had reached Lyon when a courier arrived from Rome with the news. It is recorded that Norfolk nearly fainted when he heard it. He immediately sent off his nephew Rochford, to take the tidings to

* Friedmann thinks that Cromwell was responsible for these certainly very difficult instructions to Norfolk, in order to keep him away from England and facilitate his own rise to the headship of affairs.

Henry before they could reach him by any other source, and to ask for further instructions.

Anne had left Greenwich Palace for Windsor about the time that her brother arrived. The reason is given by Chapuys in the offensive behaviour of the Easterlings—the Hanseatic merchant princes. On the day of her state entry into London, he alleges, they had set up an Imperial eagle (bearing the arms of Aragon and Castile, among others) above the emblems of Henry and herself, about which she afterwards made daily complaint to the King. Worse still, towards the end of July, a fleet of their ships came and anchored in the Thames opposite Greenwich and, inviting Chapuys on board, made great festivities, with much firing of guns. Again Anne complained; but Henry was loth to take measures against subjects of the Emperor at this juncture, and instead sent Anne away to Windsor.

It is possible, therefore, that Anne knew nothing of her brother's coming to Greenwich on July 28th; and on the 30th he was sent back to Norfolk at Lyon, with instructions that all possible means should be used to prevent the meeting between Francis and Clement.

Norfolk succeeded in time in getting another interview with Francis, the exact purport of which is not clear. It was rumoured that the Pope had intimated to the French King that he would not see the English ambassador at their meeting. Anyhow, at the end of August Norfolk returned to England, and his post in France was filled by Bishop Gardiner. But Clement had already taken a still more decided step than before, and had issued a Bull in which he

From the painting, after Titian, in the Louvre.

FRANCIS I.

[*To face p.* 188.

gave Henry only ten days to take back his former wife.* As far as Rome was concerned, Henry's cause seemed lost.

Renewed attempts had been made to force Katharine to acknowledge what had been done without the consent of Rome ; but she never wavered. Early in July Lord Mountjoy, who had been appointed by the King as her chamberlain, and other lords had a two days' struggle with her at Ampthill and entirely failed to get her to acknowledge herself as "Princess Dowager." She crossed out the words in a document given to her, and vigorously asserted that if she agreed that she had been "the King's harlot" for twenty-four years it would be a case of *Maledictus homo qui negligit famam suam.* In revenge, Henry moved her to Bugden (Buckden), Huntingdonshire, where the Bishop of Lincoln had a house. On her way thither she had a great popular reception. A similar manifestation had greeted a journey by her daughter the same month. Indeed, Chapuys asserts that in the villages through which she passed Mary had been received "as if she were God Himself descended from Heaven," whereat "the Lady was very much displeased and would much like to punish the people."

According to Chapuys, also, Anne, being desirous to obtain for the benefit of her coming offspring a very rich triumphal cloth, which Katharine had brought with her from Spain to wrap up her children at baptism, persuaded the King to send a request for it to Katharine. But Katharine returned the answer that "it had not pleased God she should be

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," August 8th, 1533.

so ill-advised as to grant any favour in a case so horrible and abominable ! "*

About August 28th, Anne returned from Windsor to Greenwich, as her time was fast approaching. Writing six days later, the Imperial ambassador tells a story of which we have no confirmation elsewhere, but which we have no reason to doubt ; for, though Henry had displayed much solicitude that no outside influences should disturb Anne's peace, he was always in himself the same essential brute. That he had begun to be unfaithful is more than likely. He had had his way months previously, and Anne's charms had no longer the same spell over him. The story is this. The King, holding it certain from the reports of his physicians and astrologers that the Lady would bear him a son, determined to have great rejoicings over the event. He also took from his treasures a splendid bed, which was given originally for the ransom of a Duke of Alençon. " It was well for the Lady that this was delivered to her two months ago, for she would not get it now. Being full of jealousy, and not without cause, she used some words to the King at which he was displeased, telling her she must shut her eyes and endure it as well as more worthy persons than herself, and that she ought to know it was in his power in a moment to humble her again more than he had exalted her. . . . The King has been two or three days without speaking to her."

No doubt such things were lovers' quarrels, comments the ambassador, to which too much importance must not be attached ; but many of those who knew the King's disposition looked on them as favourable

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Chapuys to the Emperor, July 11th and 30th, 1533.

to a recall of Katharine. It is curious how this idea persisted with so many that Henry might take Katharine back. It shows how little they understood their Henry VIII. But it may be admitted that it was difficult to foresee that he would have the strength, or obstinacy, of will to carry to completion his flouting of the Pope's commands. Also the hidden influence of Cromwell was not appreciated; for there can scarcely be a doubt that already, in a comparatively unimportant post, he had acquired a sway over his sovereign which his fellows of the Council as yet little suspected.

Cromwell's guidance, like Anne's, led Henry towards an absolute emancipation of the English Church from the authority of Rome; and Cromwell's danger, to Rome, was none the less because he, unlike Anne, does not appear to have been actuated by any sincere sympathy with the Reformers. In this respect he was even worse than the Earl of Wiltshire. Both were set upon the advancement of their own interests, at whatever cost. But Wiltshire worked with the Reformers because, as far as he had religious convictions, he agreed with their views; and he at least gained the approval of Erasmus for his pious learning. Cromwell was willing to use or to burn Reformers, whichever suited his policy best; but the priestly power was an obstacle to his ambition, which must be got rid of.

A very curious paper survives, written by the hand of one of Cromwell's clerks, in which is set forth a "reason to clear the clergy for condescending to the King's second marriage and for abolishing the Pope's authority."* In this it is pointed out that "many

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., page 332.

of the inconstant commons are dissatisfied, and, though they forbear to speak at large, for fear of punishment, yet they mutter together secretly ; which muttering and secret grudge within this realm, I think, doth not a little embolden the King's enemies without the realm." As the muttering is not against the King (for everyone says that he is the most gentle and upright prince that ever reigned), but against some of the prelates and especially against the Archbishop of Canterbury, the writer advises that the latter should set out a little book, addressed to the clergy, to show that in the matter of the King's marriage he had acted not only according to God's law but for the wealth and quietness of the realm. Let him exhort his brethren that, if they go with him, they shall greatly merit by their obedience ; but if they do not he will compel them by the law of God, and then shall they lose the merit of their obedience. "I wot well that if it came to the hearing of the Pope and the Emperor that the whole clergy of England is fully bent to defend our sovereign lord the King, they will not meddle much further."

Sunday, September 7th, saw the birth of the long-expected child. Between three and four in the afternoon of that day, at Greenwich Palace, the Queen was delivered of "a fair lady, for whom *Te Deum* was incontinently sung."* Chapuys described to his master the great regret of the King and the Lady, and "the great reproach of the physicians, astrologers,

* Wriothesley says : "The morrowe after, being the daie of the Nativitie of our Ladie, Te Deum was songe solempnlie at Powles." The account above is mainly based on Hall's "Chronicle" and Harleian MS. 543. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., page 464.

sorcerers and sorceresses, who had affirmed it would be a male child."

No doubt, indeed, the arrival of Elizabeth was a severe blow to the royal hopes. But, at any rate, it proved Anne's fruitfulness and dispelled malicious rumours such as those contained in a sheet of news from Flanders on September 1st, preserved in the Record Office, that "the new Queen is brought abed with a monster, or else that she bare is born dead." The infant was healthy, and destined to live, as none of Katharine's children had been save the Princess Mary. Henry disguised his disappointment as best he could, and the ceremonies of the christening went forward on the Wednesday following the birth.

The church of the Friars Minors at Greenwich was hung with arras for the occasion, and in the middle stood a silver font, mounted on three steps, under a crimson satin canopy fringed with gold. Anne herself was not present, nor do we find mention of the King. The child was borne by the old Duchess of Norfolk, clad in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train, held up by the Earls of Wiltshire and Derby and the Countess of Kent. On either side of the Duchess walked the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and a canopy was supported by the Lords Rochford, Hussey, and William and Thomas Howard, while a train of ladies and gentlemen followed. Others in attendance were the Earl of Essex, carrying the covered gilt basons; the Marquis of Exeter, bearing a taper of virgin wax; the Marquis of Dorset, the salt; and the Lady Mary Howard, now affianced to the young Duke of Richmond, the chrisom of pearls and precious stones.

The Bishop of London, assisted by four abbots, met the child at the church-door and christened it with the name of Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury being godfather and the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk and Marchioness of Dorset godmothers.* "This done, Garter with a loud voice bid God send her long life. The Archbishop of Canterbury then confirmed her, the Marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the trumpets blew, and the gifts were given. . . . In going out the gifts were borne before the child to the Queen's chamber by Sir John Dudley, Lord Thomas Howard the younger, Lord Fitzwalter and the Earl of Worcester. One side was full of the Guard and King's servants holding five hundred staff-torches, and many other torches were borne beside the child by gentlemen."

Wriothesley adds that "the morrowe after their was fiers made in London, and at every fire a vessell of wyne for people to drinke for the said solempnitie." Yet Chapuys tells the Emperor that Elizabeth's christening has been "like her mother's coronation, very cold and disagreeable both to the Court and to the City, and there has been no thought of having the bonfires and rejoicings usual in such cases." We would rather trust Wriothesley's account in this matter, though we may well believe that in festivities there was a good deal of malicious joy, on the part of Katharine's friends, that it was not a prince but a princess whose arrival was being celebrated.

The Norfolk family, with the exception of the

* The name was to have been Edward or Henry, in the event of a boy; and King Francis would have been godfather. (Burnet, "History of the Reformation," Vol. III., page 161.)

younger Duchess, had been very prominently represented at the christening of Elizabeth. But Anne was under no illusions as to the state of her uncle's feelings toward her, and only a few days later charged him with too great familiarity with the Imperial ambassador, her most obvious enemy. In consequence, Norfolk was obliged to avoid the company of Chapuys. He was, in fact, in sore trouble at the time, for his wife refused to see or speak to him, on account of his too patent infatuation with a young lady in Anne's suite, Elizabeth Holland. It took the intervention of Lord Abergavenny, brother-in-law of the Duchess, to effect a reconciliation, by promising that henceforth the Duke would be a good husband.

After her christening the little Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed Princess of Wales, and her half-sister Mary was definitely deprived of the title. A message was sent to Mary by the King that she must forbear using the style of Princess ; whereon, with all her mother's pride, she answered that she had not the right to renounce the title and prerogatives which God, nature and her parents had given her. Chapuys imputes to "the importunity and malignity of the Lady" this new action against the Princess Mary ; but it was only the logical outcome of Henry's repudiation of his first marriage and decision to change the succession.

The Imperial representative, who, as we know from his own writings, was constantly communicating with Mary and egging her on to resistance to her father, went so far as to hint to Cromwell the possibility of the Emperor declaring war. Cromwell was not much impressed. He knew, by his reports from

Flanders, that there was talk of this, softened, however, by the suggestion that Charles would give two or three months' notice of his intention. He knew also that the Pope was still hesitating to make his sentence really effective. As late as September 27th Clement proposed in Consistory the prorogation for one month of the term for declaring the censures on the King of England. Neither Emperor nor Pope was ready to take an irremediable step. Clement, in particular, wished to delay matters until he should have had his interview with Francis.

Henry also wished to see what would come of this interview before he proceeded any further. This seems the explanation of his prorogation of Parliament from November, 1533, to January, 1534. Among the measures which it was proposed to pass were three which would put too wide a gulf between England and Rome for French assistance to bridge, namely : (1) an Act to confirm the King's marriage with Anne and establish the succession ; (2) an Act that the realm should take the General Council of Christendom to be above the Pope, this to be concluded by both Convocations of Canterbury and York ; and (3) an Act whereby any persons obeying the Pope's attempts for the marriage with Katharine should be adjudged traitors.

Clement's meeting with Francis took place at Marseilles on October 12th, Bishop Gardiner being with the French Court as Henry's chief representative. It is clear that Henry was badly served by his agents, though it must be allowed that he appeared to expect impossibilities of them. It is true that the Pope agreed, without much difficulty, though against the

vigorous protests of the Imperial representatives, to grant yet another month's delay before making his censures on Henry effective. But when the Pope showed Gardiner a document agreeing to the hearing of the matrimonial cause at Avignon, in return for Henry's recognition of the Papal authority—a document seemingly drawn up at Henry's request—Gardiner simply replied that he was not armed with powers to bind his master. Then followed a letter, delivered by Bonner, in which Henry protested against the injustice of the sentence of excommunication, as he was now legally married, and appealed to a future General Council, to be held in some impartial place. Clement angrily spoke to Francis about this, and urged him to abandon "the enemy of the Church." Francis replied that it was necessary to keep Henry as a friend that others might not have him. He made some severe comments, however, on his good brother's reputation for wisdom, and said he had advanced Katharine's cause by admitting that the Papal sentence had come to his notice.*

Francis took the further step of sending du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, over to England about the middle of November, to tell Henry about the interview with the Pope, and to remonstrate with him on imputations which had reached his ears, to the effect that he had done less for Henry than their friendship required. (The English King, indeed, had been very rude to Dinteville, the retiring French ambassador, on their farewell interview on November 9th, to the great scandal of Norfolk and the Council in general; but

* Cifuentes to the Emperor, November 9th, 1533. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., pages 561–2.)

Francis can hardly have heard this yet.) In his message by the hands of du Bellay, Francis complained bitterly of the proceedings of the English agents at Marseilles, and requested that someone other than Gardiner should be sent out, as he was "not found possessed of good will." It is plain from a fragment of a letter from Gardiner and others to Henry that they had got on very badly with Francis at Marseilles.* In fact, relations between England and France were considerably strained, and although Anne, fearful of the loss of the French alliance, was very affable to du Bellay and even kissed him, the Bishop was stirred by Henry's querulous attitude to talk of the possibility of war! This was on December 17th. Henry's wrath subsided somewhat at this threat, and he gave a promise that he would not carry out the separation from Rome, provided that within nine weeks he should be informed that the Pope would issue a new brief before Easter annulling the sentence of July 11th, declaring the marriage with Katharine void, and confirming that with Anne—in fact, granting his whole case. Du Bellay returned to France at the end of the year, to lay this proposal before his King.

A temporary truce was thus arranged. But this had not prevented distinctly hostile acts on both sides. On the church-door of St. Eligius, Dunkirk, an abstract of the sentence in the Papal Bull of August 13th had been nailed up. In England the Privy Council had been forbidden to call Clement anything but the Bishop of Rome. Norfolk, indeed, called him some other, unmentionable names. His sudden

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., pages 571–2.

anti-Papal violence is explained by Chapuys as forced upon him by his desire not to lose his remaining influence, "which apparently does not extend much further than Cromwell wishes; for which reason, I understand, he is wonderfully sick of the Court."

CHAPTER XV

THE APPROACH OF DANGER

IT is difficult to estimate the exact state of Henry's feelings toward Anne at the period immediately following the birth of Elizabeth. She may have had cause for jealousy, as was suggested, before that event ; and the dashing of his hopes of a son and heir was not likely to make him more constant, though there was, of course, still the possibility of those hopes being fulfilled. Chapuys, who is never anxious to report anything favourable to Anne, wrote to the Emperor on November 3rd, 1533, that one of the Lady's own *demoiselles* had affirmed the King to be so obstinate in his intention that he had said several times he would sooner go begging from door to door than abandon the Lady. Apart from any question of love, however, Henry had a very strong motive to induce him not to abandon Anne—pride. Conscious of his own greatness and righteousness, he would not yield to the Pope, who had treated him with grave injustice. Let Clement repair that injustice, and then he would not proceed to schism.

In the meantime, while France was forwarding his demand as the price of England remaining within the Church, and while there was still no decision as to the validity of the marriage with Katharine, Henry deemed it advisable to prepare for the chance that

Rome would reject his terms and, by declaring Katharine his wife, make schism inevitable. If Clement should call on Charles to take action against him as an enemy of the Church, he must have allies among Charles's own subjects and among the Lutherans in general. Through the agency of Dr. Nicholas Heath, later Archbishop of York, and a German who went by the name of Christopher Mont, he approached the Lutheran princes of the Empire ; and through other envoys he sounded Denmark, Prussia and Poland.

At home Henry waited for the meeting of Parliament on January 15th before touching the remaining privileges of Rome. But he struck a blow at the adherents of the Papal cause—who were at the same time the friends of Katharine and the enemies of Anne—and endeavoured to make the blow include as many heads as possible.

In November Henry had caused the arrest of a crazy woman, variously known as the Holy Maid, or the Mad Nun, of Kent, of whom we begin to hear towards the end of 1532. As Elizabeth Barton abounded in "revelations," such as that he would not only lose his kingdom, but would also be damned, and she had seen a place prepared for him in Hell, it is not to be wondered at that Henry was annoyed. She had even visited him to tell him about her revelations, and it is rather astonishing that he had not put her into custody before. Now he tried to implicate with her all he could of those of whom it would suit him to get rid. No connection could be discovered between Elizabeth Barton and Katharine, the ex-Queen having always refused to see her. But the Bishop of Rochester (who had only been released from

confinement in the previous September), Sir Thomas More, the Marchioness of Exeter, the Countesses of Salisbury and Derby, and great numbers of lesser people were found to have had communications with her, which gave a pretext for examination into their conduct.

Undoubtedly there were many dupes of the Mad Nun, against whom a certain amount of severity was justifiable. Chapuys tells of the erection of a high scaffold in St. Paul's Cathedral, on which on November 23rd the Nun and some of her priestly associates had to sit while the Bishop elect of Bangor (John Salcott) preached a sermon against them. This was to be repeated on the two following Sundays, after which similar steps were to be taken in other towns, so as to dissipate the popular impression of the Nun's sanctity. It might be a painful ordeal ; but, seeing the nature of her "revelations," her followers, who were not supposed to be uneducated men, had scarcely the right to complain. Unhappily there was much worse to follow.

While making use of the Mad Nun's case to put under observation many of Katharine's friends, Henry continued the policy against the Princess Mary which Chapuys would impute to Anne's instigation. He took from her her home at Beaulieu, which he presented to Lord Rochford, and sent her to Hertford Castle. There he intimated to her that she must prepare to go to Hatfield, where an establishment was being prepared for the baby Elizabeth, who was now, at the age of three months, removed from Anne's care. Mary, guided by Chapuys, registered a protest, which was naturally unavailing. In December she was

carried off to Hatfield, to make her court to the Bastard, as the ambassador gracefully puts it. She made another protest, to the Duke of Suffolk, saying that the daughter of Lady Pembroke had no right to the title of Princess, by which she was bidden to call her. As the King acknowledged the child, however, she would call her "sister," in the same way as she called the Duke of Richmond "brother."

From Hatfield the Duke of Suffolk was dispatched to Buckden, to see Mary's mother and inform her that the King contemplated removing her to Somersham, unless she fell in with his wishes and ceased her claims. Suffolk and his companions found Katharine inflexible. "She will not remove to Somersham, against all humanity and reason," they wrote to Henry on December 19th, "unless we were to bind her with ropes." To Norfolk on the same day they wrote describing her as "the most obstinate woman that may be." As a punishment, most of her household (including her English confessor, Thomas Abel, who was sent to the Tower) were taken away from her, on the pretext that they would not swear the proper oath of allegiance to the King; and the royal commissioners would have taken her chambermaids too, had she not vowed to sleep in her clothes if they did. A threat to move her to Fotheringay was answered by Katharine locking herself in her bedroom and challenging them to break down the door. Beaten, they retired and left Buckden. They dared not risk such an affront to popular sympathies as moving her by force.

A story is told of Katharine at Buckden, which, if true, probably belongs to the period before the removal of the bulk of her household. It is said that one of her

gentlewomen began to curse Anne Boleyn, whereon Katharine "dried her streaming eyes and said earnestly, 'Hold your peace! Curse not—curse her not, but rather pray for her; for even now is the time fast coming when you shall have reason to pity her and lament her case!'" The tale, recorded by Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, has rather the air of being invented after Anne's tragic death.

Henry's line of conduct toward his first wife and daughter was so detestable that it tends to blind us to the fact that his victims were guilty of some very doubtful transactions with the enemies of the head of the State, whom the majority of his subjects showed no desire to get rid of. Chapuys, who abused his ambassadorial position to discuss with the malcontents the possibilities of risings in England and the substitution of Reginald Pole for Henry on the throne, who encouraged his master to think of invading England, of aiding the Irish rebels with money and arms, and of concerting action with Scotland, was the unceasing inspirer of Katharine and Mary to defy Henry's commands. They were certainly justified in refusing to recognize the King's right to repudiate them. But to have dealings with conspirators aiming to attack England from outside was something more than a maintenance of their rights as wife and daughter. We only know of their dabbling with treason through the confessions of their own chief friend. Cromwell, in spite of the activities of his spies, did not succeed in tracking the plot. In October, 1533, indeed, he got intelligence of two Observant Friars, on a mission from Peto in Flanders, who had gone to Buckden, and whom he caused to be arrested and racked.

Apparently, however, no political discovery was made through them. Probably Katharine was half-hearted in her connection with actual treachery, though she was firm in her requests to her Imperial nephew to right her wrongs, which, unless Henry gave way, could only be done by invasion of England.

The fateful year 1534 now opened. Early in January Henry paid a visit to Hatfield to see his infant daughter. Under Anne's influence, Chapuys says, he would not see Mary, sending instead Cromwell to urge her once more to the renunciation of the title of Princess. Mary's reply was that such a mission was labour wasted, and that bad treatment and even the chance of death would not alter her determination. As Henry was mounting his horse to leave Hatfield, however, he caught sight of his obstinate elder daughter on a terrace at the top of the house. She went down on her knees, whereupon he saluted her, all his suite following his example. Henry rode away without speech to her ; but his half-relenting conduct had not failed to make a considerable impression. Parental affection, of a kind, was the least unamiable trait in this tyrant's character.

Anne, on hearing of Mary's " prudent replies " to Cromwell, is alleged by Chapuys to have complained to her husband that he did not keep the girl close enough and that she must be getting bad advice, as her answers could not have been made without suggestion from others. Henry gave a promise that no one should speak to her without his knowledge ; but he singularly failed to prevent the constant communications between her and Chapuys. Nor did he hinder the Imperial representative from getting regular

information about Katharine at Buckden, who was now refusing to eat or drink anything that her new servants provided for her. Chapuys looked on it as very sinister that Henry should remark to Castillon, successor to Dinteville as French ambassador, that Katharine could not live long, being dropsical.

Poison was evidently very much in the mind of Chapuys. He actually wrote to the Emperor that "a gentleman told him that the Earl of Northumberland" —of all persons!—"told him that he knew for certain that *she* had determined to poison the Princess." And another gentleman told him that Queen Anne had sent to her aunt, Anne, wife of Sir John Shelton, Mary's steward of the household, and herself governess in charge of Mary, not to allow her to use the title of Princess, but to box her ears as a cursed bastard if she did, and to insist on her having the food provided for her instead of in her own chamber. At the same time Chapuys tells, on the authority of Castillon, that Anne showed much more grief over the death of Dr. Nicholas Hawkins than the King showed, and wept bitterly, saying that an apothecary must have given him some medicine that had caused his death.

The postponed assembly of Parliament took place on January 15th, and both King and Queen were busily employed, canvassing the members to vote for the measures which were being introduced. Henry also took the precaution to countermand the attendance of those in the Upper House whom he knew to be definitely hostile, such as the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Rochester and Durham, and that fervent supporter of Katharine, Lord Darcy.

Henry had now all his preparations made to "give

such a buffet to the Pope as he never had before."* He was full of confidence, for Anne believed herself pregnant again, and once more he was dreaming of a son to succeed him. Indeed, he spoke of it openly as a probable near event. In the circumstances he did not particularly concern himself as to what the Pope would do. At least, that was the impression which he gave. The French had evolved a scheme for terrifying Clement into consenting to a tribunal sitting at Cambrai to judge the matrimonial cause, it being understood that the Cardinals appointed would give a verdict in Henry's favour, if he in return would submit to Papal authority in England again. Henry did not feel confident about this scheme, and went on with his Parliamentary campaign.

In spite of the countermanding of undesirable members, however, and the strong pressure put upon the others, Parliament did not prove as docile as had been hoped. The Bill settling a dowry on Katharine as Princess Dowager of Wales passed the Lords, but was held up in the Commons. The Bill of Attainder against Elizabeth Barton and her associates, or alleged associates, met with strong opposition. The inclusion of Sir Thomas More's name in it proved a grave mistake, for the ex-Chancellor was easily able to exculpate himself " in the matter of this wicked woman of Canterbury," as he called her himself in a letter to the King. For a moment a halt was called, and the Bill of Attainder was hung up.

Perhaps the difficulties of the situation induced

* The expression is from a draft document, corrected by the hand of Cromwell, in which the King promises the total abolition of the Pope's authority. (" Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VI., page 603.)

Anne to make an attempt, which we do not hear of her making before, to come to terms with the Princess Mary. We give the story in the words of Chapuys, writing on March 7th :

"When the King's *amye* went lately to see her daughter, she urgently solicited the Princess to visit her and honour her as Queen, saying that it would be a means of reconciliation with the King, and she herself would intercede with him for her, and she would be as well or better treated than ever. The Princess replied that she knew no Queen in England except her mother, and that if the said *amye* (whom she called Madame Anne de Boulans) would do her that favour with her father she would be much obliged. The Lady repeated her remonstrances and offers, and in the end threatened her, but could not move the Princess. She was very indignant, and meant to bring down the pride of this unbridled Spanish blood, she said."

Anne's apparently well-meaning overture to her stepdaughter had therefore failed, and had only the effect on herself of leaving her still more bitter against the girl.

About the same time as this affair, news came from Rome, through France, of what seemed a favourable nature. Du Bellay had arrived in Rome on February 2nd, and at once set to work to carry out his promise to Henry. He put the scheme for the Cambrai tribunal before the Pope, vigorously urging on him the danger of losing England altogether. Clement listened to the scheme and begged for time to consider

From the painting by an unknown artist in the National Portrait Gallery.

MARY TUDOR, DAUGHTER OF HENRY VIII.

[*To face p.* 208.

it, which du Bellay interpreted as a sign of coming victory for French over Imperial diplomacy. He hurried the tidings to France, and on March 2nd Castillon communicated them to Henry. The King wavered; but Cromwell's influence was all against a reconciliation with Rome, which promised ruin for himself and all concerned in the anti-Papal policy. It cannot be imagined that he cared what would become of Anne, with whom his sympathy was limited to the fact that they both wished to get rid of the last traces of Roman authority; but he cared very much whether he "made or marred." His friends on the Council were also bent on saving themselves, and even Norfolk, as we have seen, had committed himself recently to the policy of opposition to the Pope.

In consequence, Castillon was unable to extract from Henry anything beyond a promise not to break absolutely with Rome before Easter, which fell on April 5th. But not all the measures in Parliament were held back. On March 12th the Bill of Attainder against those alleged to be implicated with Elizabeth Barton was accepted by the Lords, after the removal of Sir Thomas More's name from the list, and four days later a Bill was passed in the Commons forbidding the payment of "Peter's pence."

The proceedings in Rome and London in early 1534 have all the appearance of a game of bluff, each side hoping to frighten the other into acknowledging defeat. By a strange coincidence, both declared themselves on the self-same day, in such a fashion as to destroy all chance of compromise. In Rome, Consistory began its final consideration of Henry's first marriage on February 27th. On March 23rd, while

the eight French Cardinals absented themselves, the remainder of Consistory voted unanimously for the validity of the marriage. The Imperialists had won, and du Bellay retired from Rome in dismay. In London a Bill ratifying Henry's marriage with Anne and settling the succession on their issue came before the Lords on March 20th, and on the 23rd it was read for the third time and passed.

It was not until April 4th that Francis's special ambassador, Giles de la Pommeraye, reached England with news of the decision of Consistory; and by that time Henry had consolidated his gains in Parliament, the chief of which was the Act of Succession. After the signatures of all members had been obtained to this, Parliament was prorogued on March 30th, and a proclamation was issued, calling attention to the new Act, threatening with the penalties of *praemunire* anyone doing anything in derogation of it, and prescribing that all subjects of the King should take an oath to observe it. Cromwell, who had played a great part in securing the King's victory, was rewarded with the post of Chief Secretary at the beginning of April.

When Pommeraye reached the English Court with his news, he was received by Henry so calmly that one is inclined to suspect that the King had already got wind of it. Friedmann suggests that he had an idea that Francis had played him false, for the mere abstention of the French Cardinals from voting was not a very marked proof of their convictions against the validity of the marriage. Henry made no display of anger, but decided to send Rochford and Sir William Fitzwilliam on a mission to Francis and his sister,

the Queen of Navarre. They were to urge Francis to declare himself against the Pope, adopting similar legislation against his supremacy to that which had been passed in England ; and to endeavour to arrange a meeting between the two Kings in the near future. They were to see the Queen of Navarre, so as to make sure of a suitable reception for Anne when she accompanied her husband.

The envoys met Francis on April 21st and found him quite willing to meet Henry. He did not see the necessity of anti-Papal legislation in France, however ; and he not unreasonably asked what measure of financial support he might expect from England, supposing that the Emperor should attack him as Henry's ally. Rochford and Fitzwilliam returned to England, and were followed by de la Guiche to make arrangements for the royal meeting.

While his mission was in France, Henry was pressing forward with his new powers at home. The Act of Attainder was carried into effect, and Wriothesley describes how on April 20th " the Holy Maid of Kent," two monks of Canterbury, two Friars Observants, and a priest were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, hanged and beheaded, their heads being set up, two on the Tower and four at divers gates of the City. (Burnet, in his " History of the Reformation," says that the Nun confessed that she " most justly deserved her death," and that Anne interceded for some of her misguided followers.) On the same day all the crafts in London were sworn on a book " to be true to Queen Anne and utterly to think the Ladie Marie but a bastard." All the priests and curates throughout London and England were sworn—that is, they were

asked to swear—before the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops ; and the laity were sworn, in the shires and towns where they lived.

The demand for obedience to the Royal Proclamation, however, revealed the strength of the opposition. The two most notable refusals to take the oaths came from Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Both were willing, indeed, to swear to the Act of Succession, but not to the preamble. Fisher was already in custody, on a charge of not having revealed to the King what the Mad Nun had told him, which was not really much different from what she had told to Henry himself. Now he and More were committed to the Tower. Cranmer suggested that their readiness to swear to the Act was sufficient ; but Cromwell replied that the King could not agree to this, as the rejection of the preamble might be taken as a confirmation of the Bishop of Rome's authority and the reprobation of the King's authority. So More and Fisher languished in the Tower.

This allusion by Cromwell, or by Henry, to the Bishop of Rome suggests a story which is to be found among the State Papers,* showing plainly the connection in the popular mind between Anne Boleyn and the repudiation of the Pope. On Saturday, May 2nd, 1534, a certain serving-man, Henry Kylbie, came with his employer, Master Pachett, homewards from Lon-

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VII., page 289: Examination of Henry Kylbie. For another example of popular sentiment, see the accusation against Margaret Ellys, February 11th, 1535, that she called Queen Anne "a goggyll (e)yed ——" (which may be regarded, perhaps, as a testimony to the black and beautiful eyes we have heard of), "and said, God save Queen Katharine, and she trusted to see her Queen again." (*Ib.*, Vol. VIII.)

don to Leicester, and stopped at the " White Horse," Cambridge. As he was dressing his master's horse there on Monday, he got talking with the ostler, who told him that there was no Pope, but only a Bishop of Rome. Kylbie replied that there was a Pope, and that whoever held the contrary was a strong heretic. The King's Grace was on his side, said the ostler. " Then are both you an heretic and the King another," retorted Kylbie, adding that this business would never have been if the King had not married Anne Boleyn. " Therewithal they multiplyed wordes and wexed so whotte in theire communication that the one called the other knave, and so fell togither by the eares " —and Kylbie " brake the hosteler's hed with a fagotte styke ! " The sequel is not revealed.

It is noteworthy that in this very month of May, when Henry's " heresy " was being attributed by one of his humble subjects to the influence of his new wife, Anne is found writing to " our trustie and right welbeloved Thomas Crumwell squyer, Chief Secretary unto my Lorde the Kings Highnes," telling him that a certain Richard Herman, merchant of Antwerp, had in the late Cardinal's time been expelled from his freedom and fellowship in the English house there " for nothing ells (as he affermethe) but oonly for that he did bothe with his gooddis and policie, to his greate hurte and hynderans in this Worlde, helpe to the settyng forthe of the Newe Testamente in Englisshe." With all speed and favour convenient, Cromwell was to " cause this good and honeste marchaunt . . . to be restored to his pristine fredome, libertie and felowshipe aforesaid " (Letter from Greenwich, May 14th, 1534).

Among those called upon to take the new oath were the ex-Queen Katharine and what remained of her household. There were sent down to Buckden to exact it the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Chester (the last named being Rowland Lee, the cleric described by Stephen Vaughan to Cromwell as "an earthly beast"); * but they entirely failed in their task as far as Katharine was concerned, and only succeeded to a certain extent with the household. Katharine told them that "Queen she was, and Queen she would die." Chapuys was very much afraid that she would suffer for her courage. He writes to her nephew on May 29th:

"Everybody fears some ill turn will be done to the Queen, seeing the rudeness and strange treatment to which she is daily subjected, both in deeds and in words; especially as the Concubine has said she will not cease until she has got rid of her, and since, according to certain prophecies, one Queen of England is to be burned, she wishes it to be Katharine, to avoid the lot falling upon herself."

Previously the ambassador had complained to the Emperor of fresh acts of severity against the Princess Mary, such as the taking away by Norfolk of all her jewellery, as a punishment for her refusal to pay her respects to Anne; and her forcible bundling into a litter with Lady Shelton, to follow in the train of the Princess Elizabeth on a journey. Mary on

* Letter of November 1st, 1534. More fully, "an erthely beste, a molle (? mole), and an enemy to all godly lernynge . . . a papiste, an Idolater, and a flesshely preste." Invective was assuredly a widespread gift in Tudor times!

the latter occasion made another of her public protests, which Chapuys thought unwise.

Charles was stung by his representative's reports into making a remonstrance to the English ambassador at his Court, which brought him a long letter of pained surprise from Henry, who pointed out that he was really treating Katharine and Mary very well, and that Katharine was within extreme danger of the law if he chose to show rigour. Whatever the Emperor thought of this, he held his hand. But Chapuys continued to ply him with tales of the sad plight of his aunt and cousin. One of the grievances was the removal of Katharine from Buckden to Kimbolton Castle, in the same county of Huntingdon, but said to be more unhealthy. Katharine herself suspected that this was part of a design, and took even greater precautions against poisoning now, declaring that they were trying to give her "artificial dropsy." She had no doubt heard from Chapuys of the King's remark about her being dropsical and likely to die soon.

While able to devote a certain amount of attention to his complicated domestic affairs, Henry was most concerned with the future policy of Francis. When Rochford and Fitzwilliam returned to England early in May, he and Anne dined in public ; and after dinner he remarked that he was bound to give thanks to God for having so entirely conciliated to him such a good brother and friend as the King of France. According to Chapuys, this public announcement had the effect of making many suspect that Francis was "beginning to halt," especially as there was a talk of postponing the interview. Henry, however,

did not wish for too long a delay, and when de la Guiche arrived suggested a date in August.

A difficulty arose. Anne was, or believed herself to be, with child, and if she were would probably not be able to accompany the King to France. Chapuys has one of his usual pieces of scandal, on the authority of "a person of good faith," which he sends to the Emperor on June 23rd. This is to the effect that "the King's concubine has said more than once, and with great assurance, that when the King has crossed the sea and she remains *gouvernante*, as she will be, she will use her authority and put the Princess [Mary] to death, either by hunger or otherwise. On Rochford, her brother, telling her that this would anger the King, she said that she did not care even if she were burnt alive for it after."

Some later writers have taken this story for gospel truth—always ready to accept any statement unfavourable to Anne—and have represented that Henry was afraid to go to France without Anne, for fear she should make away with Mary in his absence. It is certainly true that Henry did put off his trip to France because he was unwilling to leave Anne. But there were two sufficient reasons for that, without inventing for him apprehension of his elder daughter's murder. Firstly, he was again hoping for the birth of a son, and probably had a slight renewal of his affection for Anne in consequence; and, secondly, he was anxious to bring about that meeting with the Queen of Navarre which he had failed to procure while Anne was only Marchioness of Pembroke.

Lord Rochford was again the ambassador chosen to go to France, in spite of his enemies' allegations

of his incompetence. His instructions were issued on July 7th, and two days later he was off post haste. Other matters were included in the instructions; but, with regard to Queen Anne, her brother was to say that, while she was anxious to meet the Queen of Navarre, she wished the interview to be deferred, being so far gone with child that she could not cross the sea with the King, of whose presence, on the other hand, she did not want to be deprived when it was most necessary to her. Could the interview be postponed until the following April? Rochford was to represent to Francis that the Queen, "with much suit" only, had got leave for him to proceed to France in the King's place—"the said Lord Rochford," the instructions add, "even so tempering his communication with the French King in this matter as he smell not the King's Highness to be overmuch desirous of it, but all in the Queen's name."

The day on which Rochford set out upon his mission was one marked by a very extraordinary occurrence. William, Lord Dacre of the North, was Warden of the Western Marches, sharing with the Earl of Northumberland the task of guarding the Scottish frontier. He was brother-in-law to the Countess of Northumberland; but she, as we know, was a bitter foe to her husband. Moreover, Dacre was a strong Roman Catholic, and the Earl was not. There was no love lost between them, and at last an accusation was brought against Dacre of treason and seeking the destruction of his fellow-warden. He was brought South, and on July 9th was arraigned at Westminster, the case being presided over by the Duke of Norfolk as High Steward. "The Lady," writes Chapuys,

"used her influence against him, because he had always maintained the cause of the Queen and Princess. Nevertheless, he defended his case so well for seven hours that he was unanimously declared innocent by twenty-four lords and acquitted by twelve judges; which is one of the most novel things that have been heard of for a hundred years, for no one ever knew a man come to the point he had done and escape. And there was never seen for one day such universal joy shown in the City as there was at his liberation."

It is true that Dacre was the one man against whom a charge of treason was brought, in the King's name, during the reign of Henry VIII., who was not condemned—a fact useful to remember when we come to the trial of Anne Boleyn.

During the summer Henry and Anne went on another of their progresses in the Midlands, and we do not hear much of them until nearly the end of September. Chapuys is mostly interested in the affairs of Katharine and Mary, who were clearly becoming a rallying-point for the loyalties of all those who found the King's new policy intolerable. Mary was in particular the danger, as Henry, Anne and Cromwell alike were aware. Anne's hatred is easily explained by this, which threatened the prospects of Elizabeth and any subsequent child she might bear. Cromwell had no dislike of Mary, whom he looked on as an useful pawn in the diplomatic game, for which reason he had not been in favour of her being declared illegitimate. As for Henry, his conduct towards her continued to show alternate conciliation and severity. In July he made yet another attempt, through Lord Wiltshire and Sir

William Paulet, to induce her to renounce her title, with a promise of better treatment if she did so. Advised by Chapuys, she refused. Towards the end of August, however, when an order was sent to Mary to accompany the Princess Elizabeth to Greenwich, his advice was that she should consent. Accordingly she agreed, upon the understanding that she should not be compelled to go out after her sister. Paulet promised this ; but when Mary came to the door of the lodging, there was " the litter of the Bastard "—the words, of course, are those of Chapuys —which she had to follow. Mary got her own back, however, for on the journey she pushed ahead on horseback and reached Greenwich an hour before Elizabeth. She also secured the most honourable seat on the barge which was to take them to the Palace.

Nevertheless, when next month Henry heard that Mary, now at Hunsdon, was lying ill, he hastened to send Dr. Butts to her, and even gave Katharine permission to visit her, unfortunately adding conditions which would not allow the poor ex-Queen to accept.

Henry showed no more consistency toward Anne than toward Mary. After having been unwilling to leave her for his journey to France and keeping her by him during the summer, by the end of September he had grown cold again. The general explanation at Court was that Anne had discovered she was not pregnant after all. Disgusted with his shattered hope of a son, Henry " renewed the love he formerly had for a very beautiful lady of the Court "—by whom Chapuys seems to mean the unknown lady to whom the King's attention had turned before

Elizabeth's birth. When Anne would have had her banished, Henry grew angry, telling her that "she had good reason to be content with what he had done for her, which he would not do now if they were to begin again," that she should consider from what she had come, and several other things, to which, however, Chapuys thinks it well not to attach too much importance, "considering the King's changeable character and the craft of the Lady, who knows well how to manage him."

A fortnight later, on October 13th, the ambassador reports the banishment from Court, not of the new favourite, but of Lord Rochford's wife, for conspiring with "the Concubine" to get the other withdrawn. This is curious news, for Lady Rochford had previously been in trouble, as we know, for expressing too openly her sympathy with Katharine! Moreover, she appears later as Anne's virulent opponent and the traducer of her own husband on her account.

With the defeat of the attempt to get rid of her, the young lady's influence increases daily while that of Anne decreases, and Chapuys sees good hope that, if the King's love affair continues, the interests of Katharine and Mary will prosper, for the young lady is greatly attached to them. In fact," she has lately sent to the Princess [Mary], telling her to be of good cheer and that her troubles will end sooner than she supposes, and when the opportunity comes she will show herself her true and devoted servant."

Although Chapuys does not say so, it is evident that the (to us) unknown favourite was an adherent of the old Roman Catholic noble party, who hoped

to influence the King through her as the Reformers had influenced him through Anne Boleyn. The ambassador gives an illuminating glimpse into the state of disaffection of the old families and their sympathizers. At the end of September he had two important communications, with Lord Hussey, Mary's chamberlain, and, on Hussey's introduction, with Lord Darcy. The former urged that the Emperor should now intervene to right Katharine and Mary. The latter, though declaring himself one of the most loyal vassals the King had *in matters not injuring his conscience*, said that, as it was proposed in this Parliament to bring in the Lutheran sect, he and his adherents would do their best to animate the people against it, and with the Emperor's assistance would raise the banner of the Crucifix beside his ; and among the first things he would do would be to seize some lords who favoured these follies, such as the Earl of Northumberland. Darcy claimed that 1,600 great lords and gentlemen in the North were of his opinion, and that he could put into the field 8,000 men of his own and his friends'. Among his friends, by the way, was the Lord Dacre, lately so triumphantly acquitted of treason, against the influence of the King and Queen.

The ambassador is certainly a priceless chronicler of the secret history of the day, provided that we make due allowance for the bias of his mind and the temptation which he was unavoidably under to tell the Emperor what he wanted to be told, rather than the bare truth ; for we cannot agree with some of the historians that Chapuys never departed from the truth. He was a man of insight, but also of

much prejudice. We may perhaps accept as veracious the details of an interview which he had sometime in October with Cromwell, just appointed to the Mastership of the Rolls in addition to his Chief Secretaryship. His visit was under pretext of other things; but he brought the conversation round to the subject of the Princess Mary, and conjured Cromwell, by the affection he had formerly professed for her, to do what he could to save her from "the torment of following the Bastard" or renouncing her own title and legitimacy. Efforts to this end would not achieve the King's purpose, he declared, but might make her very seriously ill. The Secretary assured him that Henry would be very sorry both for the loss of such a pearl and for the opinion of the world, and insisted that, though he had taken certain measures with her for resisting his will, he was at heart unchanged in his affection for her. Indeed, to show Chapuys a little further into the mystery, said Cromwell, he would let him know what was not known to everyone, namely that "not only a hundred for one, but without comparison, the King loved the Princess Mary more than the last-born, and he would not be long in giving evidence of it to the world."

Chapuys was inclined to believe what Cromwell told him, and says that he sent word to Mary, then with Elizabeth at The More, that, as the King's severity was abating, she should take care not to give him any cause of offence, and, so far from refusing to "follow the Bastard," should declare that she was very glad in this to satisfy the King her father. On October 21st she came to Richmond in the company of Elizabeth. The next day Queen

Anne, accompanied by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and many others, ladies and gentlemen, paid a visit to Richmond to visit *la petite garce*—Chapuys uses a milder term this time for the poor baby—when Mary shut herself up in her chamber until her stepmother had gone. Moreover, Anne's retinue, including a number of ladies, came to pay their respects to her there. No punishment befell her ; and if it were not for the fact that the King was of an amiable and cordial nature (!), and that the new mistress had already busied herself on Mary's behalf, Chapuys would have been inclined to think the King's favour to his daughter a dissimulation, to conceal the guilt of any ill that might overtake her.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DAWN OF THE TERROR

IT was in a very perilous position that Anne found herself in the last quarter of 1534. The King's passion for her had brought him to the point of sacrificing his first wife, his connection with the Church of Rome, and the esteem of vast numbers of his subjects, not to mention the respect of most of Europe, for her sake. But she had given him no son, and he was no longer in love with her. There was no friend upon whom she could rely at home, for those who admired her for her Reforming zeal were men of no power. Abroad, Francis and his advisers were alienated from her, because of the situation into which Henry had put them, for which they blamed her influence. Henry, they imagined, might be brought back into the fold ; but only at the cost of Anne Boleyn. Any European combination involved her ruin.

It was well known in England that in August the Emperor had made approaches to the King of France, not indeed with a view to a joint attack on Henry to enforce the Papal interdict, but at least in the hope of an alliance which would affect the future of England. Both in the Empire and in France the Princess Mary was looked on as the eligible

Princess, whose hand might one day bring with it a claim to succession on the English throne. A son born to Anne, and once recognized as the Prince of Wales, might upset this calculation; but where was the son?

On September 26th, Pope Clement ended his weary life. Maliciously, Gregory Casale wrote to Lord Rochford on October 15th: "Rome is rejoiced at the death of Clement VII.* . . . The creation of Paul III. has given the greatest pleasure in the city." Paul III. was Cardinal Alexander Farnese, formerly, and still believed to be, friendly to Henry and ill-disposed to the Emperor. A reconciliation between the Holy See and England was considered likely. Henry had only to renounce Anne, and all would be well.

It has been remarked by many writers that what saved Anne now was the continued existence of Katharine of Aragon. Henry might have been prepared to cast off Anne already—there were other women who might bear him a son—but he would not take back Katharine, which would be the natural sequel to getting rid of her supplanter. How far Anne realized this is doubtful; perhaps not at all. She cannot yet have fathomed the baseness of Henry's nature. She was, indeed, destined to be the first full test of its depravity.

Parliament reassembled on November 4th to complete the work of the spring session. A fortnight

* It must be remembered that Clement had many bitter enemies in his own country. On January 16th, 1535, we find the notorious Pietro Aretino writing to Henry VIII. from Venice that all Italy rejoiced at his success over Clement. "I kiss Your Highness's feet, in dishonour of the Pope, a second Lucifer." ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VII., page 31.)

later the Act of Supremacy was carried, and steps were immediately taken for enforcing compliance with it by a further Act, which made it treasonable to deny their titles to either King, Queen, or their issue, or to call them heretic, schismatic, or infidel. This far-reaching measure met with strong opposition, in spite of the vigorous pressure exerted by the Government to force it through. Finally Henry and his Ministers were obliged to make two important concessions; first, that the Act should not come into operation until the following February 1st, and, secondly, that only a malicious denial of title should be held treasonable.

In the meantime a new mission had come over from King Francis, headed by Philippe de Chabot, Sieur de Brion, Admiral of France. He arrived at Court on November 16th; and Chapuys narrates Henry's efforts to do him honour, including the summoning of a number of beautiful ladies to the Court. Many thought that the purpose of this visit was to enhance the reputation of the king with the English people, says the Imperial ambassador, for the gentry—the ruling section, Chapuys means—were beginning to distrust Francis for his adherence to the Church.

No doubt Francis had some notion of re-establishing his credit at the English Court; but he also wished to influence his good brother Henry toward moderation, with a view to some accommodation with the new Pope. Part of his scheme was to carry into effect the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Dauphin Francis, to whom she had been affianced in tender years. The Emperor's suggestion to Francis

in August had been a marriage between Mary and the Duke of Angoulême, the French King's third son, from which might result some day the accession of a French prince to the English throne. Francis preferred the original match; but the difficulty in either case was that Mary must not be deemed illegitimate, so that the measures declaring her so must be reversed.

Acting on his instructions, the Admiral of France on November 26th requested Henry to complete the treaties of 1518 by arranging the marriage of Mary to the Dauphin, threatening him, in the event of refusal, with a marriage between the Dauphin and the Infanta, daughter of the Emperor. Chapuys, a deeply interested watcher of the French mission, says that "it is not known how the King received this, but his Lady is very angry at it." Nothing else could have been expected of Anne. Mary's legitimization would mean the undoing of the Acts of Succession and Supremacy, and her own extinction.

Henry, however, would not hear of the marriage between Mary and the Dauphin. Instead he made a counter-proposal to Francis that the latter should obtain from Pope Paul a decision that Clement's sentence was void, whereon he would be willing to treat for a renunciation of his own title of "King of France"—always a sore point with Francis—and for a marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Angoulême.*

The Admiral's mission was a failure. If he came over expecting to find Henry prepared for concessions,

* Henry to Francis. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VII., page 553.)

he was totally undeceived. Henry would yield nothing, and at the very time of the Admiral's visit Parliament made his defiance of opinion abroad as definite as it could be. As for Anne's position, the Admiral could draw what deductions he pleased. He had come over prepared to slight her. The King asked him early if he would not like to see her. He replied very coldly that he would do so if it pleased His Majesty; which, says Chapuys, was noted by several people. Chapuys also records, with obvious enjoyment, an incident on the eve of the Admiral's departure for home, December 1st. A Court Ball was given in his honour, and, according to Charles's representative, the Admiral was seated next the Lady while the dancing was in progress, when suddenly without any apparent occasion she went into a fit of uncontrollable laughter. The Admiral thereat showed great annoyance, and frowning asked, "How, Madame, do you mock at me, or what?" Anne checked her laughter, and excused herself to him by saying that she laughed because the King had told her that he was going to look for the Admiral's secretary and bring him to her, but instead had met a lady on his way and had forgotten all else.

"I do not know if the excuse was accepted as satisfactory," adds Chapuys, who has also about this same time another story, which he had heard from Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, brother-in-law of Francis Bryan. Anne, it appears, began to complain one day to the King about the young lady (who is no doubt the same lady who figures in the other tale), saying that she did not do her, either in word or in deed, the reverence which she expected.

Henry angrily left her, exclaiming against her importunity. Truly, Anne was experiencing the same treatment as, for love of her, Henry had inflicted on Katharine; except that he did not accord her such respect as he had shown to her predecessor, nor apparently trouble to explain that his relations with the young lady were perfectly correct.

In this same letter* the Emperor is told by his ambassador how the Lady's sister was banished from the Court three months ago, it being necessary to do so, "for, besides that she had been found guilty of misconduct, it would not have been becoming to see her at the Court *enceinte*." Here we have an opportunity of testing the gossiper's veracity. We have not heard anything of the former Mary Boleyn for some time, though she appears in the list of recipients of the King's New Year gifts for 1534. We know, however, from a letter of hers, undated but evidently belonging to this year, that she had fallen into disgrace at Court. The letter shall show whether this disgrace was also a dishonour to her.

Signing herself "Mary Stafford," she writes to Cromwell, begging him to be good to her poor husband and herself. (This husband was a Sir William Stafford, of whom little is known except that he was of better breeding than fortune, and that he was employed as gentleman usher to the King. Cromwell is aware, continues Mary, that their marriage, being clandestine, displeases the King and Queen. "But one thing, good master Secretary, consider;

* Chapuys to the Emperor, December 18th, 1534, in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VII. The letter of "Mary Stafford" is in the same volume, Appendix, page 612.

that he was young, and love overcame reason. And for my part I saw so much honesty in him that I loved him as well as he did me ; and was in bondage, and glad I was to be at liberty ; so that for my part I saw that all the world did set so little by me, and he so much, that I thought I could take no better way but to take him and forsake all other ways and to live a poor honest life with him ; and so I do put no doubts but we should, if we might once be so happy to recover the King's gracious favour and the Queen's. For well I might a had a greater man of birth and a higher, but I ensure you I could never a had one that should a loved me so, well, nor a more honest man."

She asks Cromwell to persuade His Majesty to speak to the Queen, who is so rigorous against them. " We have been now a quarter of a year married, I thank God, and too late now to call that again. . . . I had rather beg my bread with him than to be the greatest Queen christened. . . . Pray my lord my father and my lady to be good to us . . . and my lord of Norfolk and my brother. . . . I dare not write to them, they are so cruel against us."

We know that Mary Boleyn had " a past ; " but this simple letter of hers inclines us to sympathy with her efforts to start life afresh. Friedmann suggests that the marriage with Stafford was a pretence. We can see no reason whatever for thinking so. On the contrary, we can well believe that Mary was indeed glad to escape her " bondage "—her dependence, since Carey's death, on her avaricious father—even if she gained nothing but her liberty. As for her estrangement from her sister Anne, in the

circumstances it was little to be wondered at, though it is not clear why Anne should be vexed at Mary's second marriage. It perhaps merely served as an excuse for getting her away from Court, where her presence was a constant reminder of an old scandal. We shall see that there was a reconciliation between the sisters before Anne's death.

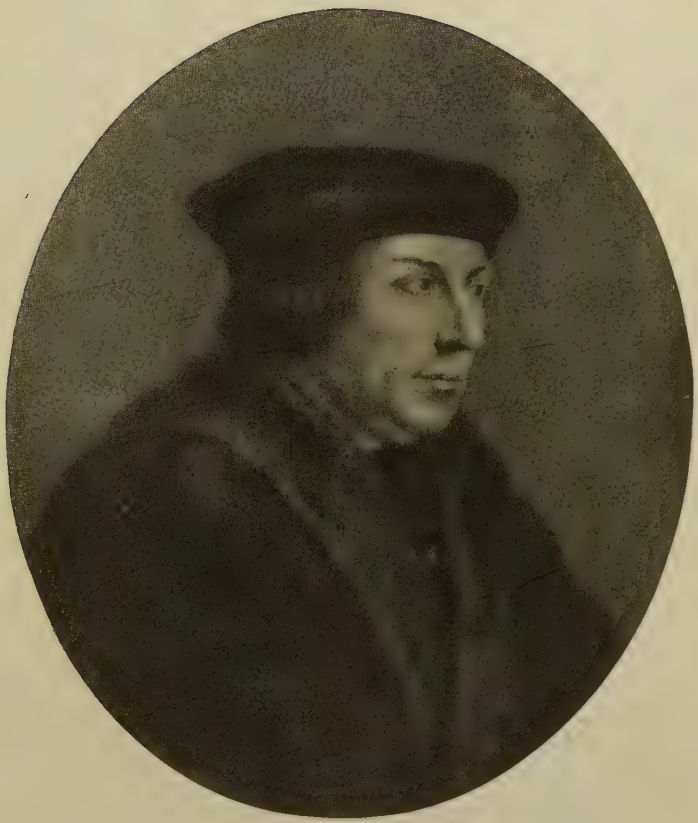
Chabot de Brion had gone back to France to submit to his sovereign Henry's counter-proposals, promising to send back an answer as soon as he could ; but the answer was slow in coming. In the interval there was an ominous amount of discontent in England over the recent Parliamentary measures. Chapuys has one of his second-hand stories to tell, how that the Earl of Northumberland's physician had told him that the Earl had said that the whole realm was so indignant at the oppressions and enormities now practised that, if the Emperor would make the smallest effort, Henry would be ruined. Northumberland was also alleged to have spoken of the arrogance and malice of the Lady, who had lately addressed to her uncle Norfolk such shameful words as one would not use to a dog. Norfolk had quitted her presence (in fact, leaving the Court altogether for some time), and in revenge had spoken of her as a *grande putain*. We can well believe this of Norfolk ; but it seems improbable that Northumberland should have pretended Imperialist sympathies or should have spoken against Anne, to whom, in a half-hearted way, he was loyal to the end.

Although Henry was quite well aware of the unpopularity of his religious policy and of the danger of interference from outside, he did not cease to carry

out his schemes. On January 15th, 1535, he had himself proclaimed as "Henry VIII., by the grace of God King of England and France, Defender of the Faith and Lord of Ireland, and on earth the Supreme Head of the English Church." A requisition was sent to the bishops to burn all Bulls they had from the Pope and to acknowledge that they had everything from the King. The bishoprics of the two Italian prelates, Campeggio and Ghinucci, of which they had already been deprived in 1534, were assigned now to two *protégés* of Anne's, Nicholas Shaxton, her almoner, and Hugh Latimer, one of her chaplains, who thus became Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester. At the same time, however, there was a prohibition of books of Zwinglian doctrine, and we hear of the burning, by Council's orders, of copies of the New Testament in English, of which destruction Anne was certainly not in favour.

A step of which the import could scarcely be doubted was the appointment of Cromwell on January 21st as Vicar-General, with a commission for a general visitation of churches, monasteries and clergy. Anne was only destined to see the beginning of the work which her ally would do with this commission, and we cannot charge her with complicity in the spoliation, ready as she always was to press the claims to vacant offices of divines whose religious principles commended themselves to her.

At last, on January 31st, the long-expected envoy from France arrived, in the person of Palamede Gontier, Treasurer of Brittany, who had accompanied the Admiral of France on his visit before Christmas. Interviews with the King took place at once, in the



From an engraving by Houbraken, after a painting by Holbein.

THOMAS CROMWELL, AFTERWARDS EARL OF ESSEX.

[*To face p.* 232.

course of which Henry boasted (as we know from Gontier's letter to the Admiral) of " the augmentation of his revenue, the union of his kingdom, and the peace of conscience," which he was enjoying in consequence of having thrown off subjection to Rome, and urged the desirability of Francis following suit. But Francis, who had just been distinguishing himself by particularly bitter persecution of the Lutherans, at whose burnings he was present in state, had no idea of taking Henry's advice, and his instructions to his representative were still to press for a reconciliation with the Pope. That this would involve Anne's downfall did not trouble him at all. He believed that Henry was prepared for this ; which was true, provided that Anne's fall did not mean Katharine's restoration.

Gontier, however, was not so cavalier as the Admiral had been in his treatment of Anne, and on February 2nd, only two days after his arrival in London, Cromwell took him to see the Queen. When he had delivered a letter from the Admiral, Anne complained of his long delay, which, she said, had caused her husband many doubts, and insisted that the Admiral must devise some remedy to prevent her ruin, for she saw that very near and was in more grief and trouble than before her marriage. She could not speak as fully as she wished of her affairs, because of the many eyes upon her, the King's and those of all the lords present ; nor could she write, nor yet see him again. She took leave of him hurriedly and did not follow Henry into the dance-room. Gontier could see that she was far from at her ease, and was distrustful of the attitude of Francis.

Henry, for his part, did not act as if he trusted Francis far; and he showed decided signs of making up to the Imperial ambassador, in spite of the firm protests of Chapuys against the continued bad treatment of Katharine and Mary, the last example of which was the refusal, during a serious illness of the younger princess, of Katharine's pathetic request that the King should send "his daughter and mine" to her at Kimbolton and allow her to nurse her.

If Anne and Henry had their doubts of Francis, so too had Cromwell, who was no follower of the policy of his old master, Wolsey, that France was the only possible ally. Particularly at the present time did he wish to keep clear of anything that might lead to reunion with Rome, which threatened his ruin equally with Anne's. He would not desert her yet; and perhaps his influence is to be seen in the next curious manœuvre which prevented the King yet from throwing his second wife to the wolves.

The young lady of unknown name, whose influence over Henry had given Anne legitimate cause for jealousy, was, we have seen reason to believe, an adherent of the old noble and Roman Catholic section of the Court. Suddenly we hear, through a letter of Chapuys on February 25th, that she is no longer in favour. "She has been succeeded in her office by a first cousin of the Concubine, daughter of the Princess's present governess." This was Margaret, daughter of Sir John and Lady Shelton. It is possible, of course, that the King's wandering eyes lighted on her without any prompting from outside; but the change of favourites was to the

advantage of the Boleyns and aided Cromwell's fight against a Roman Catholic reaction.

Gontier left for France at the beginning of March, returning for a brief second visit at the end of the month, when it was arranged that English commissioners should proceed to Calais at Whitsuntide to conclude terms for the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Angoulême. The idea of a royal visit to France appears to have receded into the distance. One point, however, was gained for Henry, since we find Francis making a fresh attempt at Rome to have Clement's sentence reversed, as the price of his reconciliation with the Church.

Conspiracy was all the while rife in England, particularly among the Northern nobles, but also fairly generally among the Roman Catholic lords. Chapuys was in touch with all the malcontents, and had frequent conversations with them. Among his guests at dinner on one occasion were Lord Darcy's son and the Earl of Wiltshire's own brother, Sir James Boleyn, who did not share Thomas's Reforming sympathies. The main idea of the conspirators was to get the Princess Mary smuggled out of the kingdom into Flanders ; for it was felt that a rising would be futile if she were liable to be thrown into the Tower as a hostage. Mary and her mother were certainly conscious of the plot ; and it is scarcely to be wondered at that Anne should have spoken of them—at least Chapuys affirms so—as "rebels and traitresses, deserving death." Her own death was no matter of doubt if a rising were successful.

The King and Cromwell, cognisant as they were of the intrigues, dared not act against the leaders ;

but in other ways they were singularly bold in challenging public opinion. The particularly atrocious crime of the execution of the Carthusian fathers on May 4th was carried out without the slightest sign of compunction. Cranmer made an appeal to Cromwell on behalf of two of them, that they might be sent to him, since he thought he could do much for them; but he was not allowed to try. They had denied the King's supremacy over the Church, and for this they died a horrible death, their heads and portions of their mangled bodies being afterwards sent to decorate all the gates of the City and the Charterhouse itself.

Chapuys alleges that the young Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Rochford, Sir Henry Norris and other courtiers were present at the execution, and that the King "would have liked to see this butchery," but was not there. To that extent Henry behaved better than his brother of France over the burning of the Lutherans.

The one secular priest, John Hale, vicar of Isleworth, who shared the fate of the Carthusians, certainly merited punishment, though the lunatic asylum would have been more appropriate than the scaffold. According to his own confession, he was "aged and oblivious," and he had been ill; but he was convicted, on the evidence of several people, including a young priest of Teddington, who received a pardon, of conversations which were both treasonable and indecent. Among other things he said that "the King's Grace had meddling with the Queen's mother"—possibly the original source of the monstrous tale of Sanders.

The campaign of barbarous terrorism was fairly started by this abominable scene on May 4th; though it must be remembered that these were not the first religious victims in the reign of Henry VIII., and that previous victims had been sacrificed for heresy quite other than the denial of the King's supremacy. We can scarcely look on the executions of 1535 and the immediately following period as religious murders, unless we call Henry himself a religion. The Carthusians, and Fisher, More, and others after them were offered up on the altar not of Reform, but of a brutal egomaniac.

In spite of the supposed presence of her father and brother (who, after all, *were* courtiers) at the execution of the Carthusians, and in spite of alleged violent speeches of hers against priests from whom she differed, we have no right to assume that Anne took any pleasure in the atrocity of May 4th. Chapuys, indeed, says, after describing it, that "the Concubine is more haughty than ever, and ventures to tell the King that he is more bound to her than man can be to woman, and moreover that he came out of it the richest prince that ever was in England, and without her he would not have reformed the Church, to his own great profit and that of all the people." But here, once more, we have only hearsay collected by an inveterate enemy. So we need not give undue weight to his further assertion, to his friend Granvelle, of the Emperor's Council, that, even if the King of England wished to abandon his abominable obstinacy against the priests, the Lady and Cromwell would not allow him. Cromwell was certainly a persecutor, with whom zeal for Reform was a

mere pretext; but where is the evidence against Anne?

It may be noted that at the beginning of June fourteen Dutch Anabaptists were burnt at Smithfield and elsewhere for "heresy," as if to prove the impartiality of the persecutors.

The counter-mission to France after Gontier's second visit had included Norfolk and Rochford. On May 22nd they met the Admiral at Calais, when neither side found the other in an accommodating mood. Rochford was sent back at once for further instructions, and Chapuys heard that on the 25th, the day of his arrival, before seeing the King, he went to his sister and had a long conversation with her. "He cannot have brought back anything agreeable, for I am told by the Master of the Horse that, both then and several times since, she has been in a bad humour and said a thousand shameful words of the King of France and the whole nation." Henry and his Council met to consider Rochford's report; and it was noticed that Morette, the resident French ambassador, not only was not invited to attend the Council, but also had to wait until ten o'clock one night at Cromwell's lodgings at Austin Friars, to be sent off finally with but "two words."

Cromwell, indeed, was manifesting friendliness toward the Imperial ambassador rather than the French. He had a meeting with Chapuys, who says that Cromwell told him if the Lady knew they were conversing freely she would make some trouble. Only three days ago, he added, he had had words with her, when she said she would like to see his head cut off; but such was his confidence in the King that he did

not believe she could do him any harm. Chapuys suspected Cromwell of inventing this tale, to "enhance his goods," and dryly replied that all the world regarded him as the Lady's right hand.

Rochford was sent back to France, but without instructions to make any concessions, with the result that the meeting at Calais broke up in the middle of June. Both sides were very dissatisfied, each thinking the other's demands exorbitant. Henry wanted Francis so far to espouse his cause with the Pope as, in the event of Paul's refusal to reverse Clement's sentence, to copy his own action against Rome; and he wished to lay down exacting conditions concerning the Duke of Angoulême as the consort of the Princess Elizabeth. Francis wanted very definite guarantees as the price of his support against Pope and Emperor; and he pressed for the carrying out of the marriage of the Dauphin and the Princess Mary.

The Papal nuncio in France, the Bishop of Faenza, writes that, on the separation of the Calais conference, there was a pretence by both parties that the Anglo-French friendship was firmer than ever. He mentions also a visit to Amiens by Rochford, who, as far as could be seen, accomplished nothing. "It is only from his relation to the Queen that he is employed," adds the Bishop, "for the King has very few to trust in. All business passes through the hands of people who trust in the new Queen, and must therefore be settled according to her purpose."* Such, less than eleven months before her fall, was the impression abroad of Anne Boleyn's continued power.

* Letter to Ambrosio (Papal Secretary), June 22nd, 1535. ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VIII., page 358.)

At the same time in England there was talk of a fresh access of attention from Henry to his Queen, the reason for which we may see in Anne's hopes already beginning of again becoming a mother.* Though Chapuys was not informed of these hopes, he heard of Anne's return to favour. He writes on June 16th that, to divert the King from certain annoyances (to which we shall refer), "the Lady lately made him a feast in a house of hers, where she gave several brave mummeries. She invited many, and the French ambassador was not pleased at being forgotten. The said Lady has so well banquetted and mummed that, by what the Princess [Mary] sent me to-day to say, the King dotes upon her more than ever."

The annoyances from which Henry suffered were partly, no doubt, the unyielding attitude of France, but also the action of the new Pope in conferring cardinals' hats upon du Bellay, Ghinucci and Fisher. On the two first Henry looked as friends of his—in spite of his depriving Ghinucci of his English bishopric —whom he did not want brought into the Pope's circle. But the elevation of Fisher was a much severer blow. There had been some mitigation of the treatment of the old Bishop of Rochester, as also of Sir Thomas More, in the Tower; but there was no cessation of the efforts made to induce them to swear to the Act of Succession, and Henry was determined that they should give the example of obedience. Now Fisher, against whom he had the greater grudge, for his dealings with Elizabeth Barton, was honoured with the cardinalate! This was too much to be borne; and, to make matters worse, Henry received

* See letter of Sir William Kingston to Lord Lisle, June 24th, 1535.

a letter from Francis, written at the Pope's request, interceding on the Bishop's behalf. Remarking that the head could be sent to fit the cardinal's hat, Henry gave orders for his execution.

There had been a brief pause in the martyrdoms. On June 19th they recommenced, three more Carthusian monks being done to death that day, with scarcely less atrocity than their predecessors in May. On the 22nd Fisher was led out to execution at the Tower, the worst features of such scenes being graciously omitted, though his head, after it had been struck off, was put up on London Bridge.

Having made this splendid vindication of his right to do what he liked in his own kingdom, and taught a lesson to Pope Paul on the folly of giving cardinals' hats to rebellious priests, Henry performed a very characteristic act, of which Chapuys gives us the details. Writing to Granvelle, he tells him about "a gallant and notable interpretation of a chapter of the Apocalypse"—apparently some sort of masque—which was played on the eve of St. John (June 23rd) at some unnamed place outside London. The King went thirty miles to see it, walking indeed ten of them in the small hours of the morning—with a two-handed sword, Chapuys asserts—and got into a house where he could see everything. "He was so pleased at seeing himself cutting off the heads of the clergy that, in order to laugh at his ease and to encourage the people, he discovered himself. He sent to tell his Lady that she ought to see it repeated on the eve of St. Peter."

Another head was still lacking to complete the present instalment of terrorism, and this time not a

priestly one. Sir Thomas More continued to reject the oath, undeterred by Fisher's fate. He was brought up for final examination, and, on the pretence that he *maliciously* persevered in refusing a direct answer to the question whether he admitted the King's supremacy over the Church,* was declared subject to the penalties of the law. On July 1st he went to the scaffold on Tower Hill, and his head was sent to join Fisher's on London Bridge.

In Clifford's "Life of Jane Dormer" it is stated that "when a gentleman brought word to the King that Sir Thomas More was beheaded, the King being at the table, and the Lady Anne standing by, the King, throwing away the dice, showed anger and sorrow . . . and said 'This is long of you; the honestest man of my kingdom is dead,' and suddenly retired chafing." A similar story is found elsewhere, and we may or may not believe it, as we please. Anyhow, four days later, Henry set out on a long progress through the West and South of England, having great entertainment at the houses of his subjects, and being noticed as "more given to matters of dancing and the ladies than ever he was."†

Anne accompanied her husband on part of his progress. If it be asked how, unless she approved of his conduct, she could tolerate his presence, other questions occur. How is it that the Pope even now did not proceed to the last extremities of his power? How is it Charles still held his hand, that Francis went no further than verbal denunciations of the atrocities, that Henry's own subjects, the incomparably larger

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VIII., page 385.

† Chapuys to the Emperor, July 11th, 1535.

portion still loyal to Rome, did not break out into rebellion ? How is it that he still continued to charm ladies, including Jane Seymour, of whom we are soon to hear ? The answer to all these questions must presumably be yet another question, How is it that monsters have been—and still are—tolerated in the world ?

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEATH OF KATHARINE OF ARAGON

ALTHOUGH the world did not rise up in horror against Henry VIII. after the crimes of May–July, 1535, the effect was very great. We hear of his ally Francis speaking of Fisher's execution "like a Christian and a virtuous prince," and saying that he knew Henry was given over to perdition, and no good could be expected of him.* That he went on to denounce Anne, saying "how little virtuously she has always lived and now lives," is no cause for surprise, since Francis had long had a resentment against her for upsetting his foreign policy. As an honest opinion of her moral character it can hardly be treated.

Pope Paul was nearly aroused into vigorous action, and there can be no doubt that, whatever friendliness he had once had for Henry in Clement's time, he was deeply stirred by the death of Fisher. He went so far as to send out briefs to all Christian princes, calling on them to be ready to execute justice on Henry when he would require them to do so. This was towards the end of July; and a month later there were signs of a determination to carry the sentence of excommunication to completion by a Bull of Depriva-

* Bishop of Faenza to Ambrosio, July 4th, 1535.

tion. But now, strangely, it was Imperial influence rather than French, which held the Pope back, Charles's reluctance being due to the fact that the Princess Mary was still in Henry's hands; and also he was suspicious of the French King's good faith in the event of joint action against England being planned.

While the consequences of his latest misdeeds were slow in manifesting themselves, Henry was on his tour, hunting and hawking and otherwise amusing himself, when not compelled to attend to business. The plague was bad in London this summer, and he had no desire to expose himself to its infection. Of Anne there are only a few passing notices for a time. We find her writing to Cromwell* from "my lord's manor of Langley" on July 18th, concerning some preferment which she desired for a clerical friend. As Henry left Langley, which was shortly to be prepared as a home for the Princess Elizabeth, on July 16th and made his way towards Gloucestershire, it is clear that he had left her behind for the time. In early August we hear, through Chapuys, of Henry "still on the confines of Wales, hunting and traversing the country to gain the people;" but Anne is not mentioned as being with him.

At the beginning of September the King was obliged to turn some attention to his foreign affairs. On the receipt of the Pope's brief summoning him to be ready for action against Henry, Francis decided to send Dinteville, generally called the Bailly of

* Not the same letter, with the extraordinary spelling and signed "Your lovyng mestres Anne the Quene," which is in the British Museum and is reproduced in "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. VIII., No. 417.

Troyes, and a suite over to England to show the brief and explain their master's difficulties. If it was to come to war between Francis and the Emperor, the former required Henry to pay one-third of the French army's expenses. Dinteville had further, secret instructions, to report on the state in which he found England with regard to Henry's popularity.

Henry accordingly prepared to receive the French envoys, putting aside his distractions. But it seems that already, before he met Dinteville, he had come across a person who was destined to attract him more powerfully than any woman since the youthful Anne Boleyn. Here enters into the story Jane Seymour, whose coming to the Court of the woman she was to supplant is, however, otherwise told by the author of the previously mentioned "Life of Jane Dormer." Clifford says that Sir Francis Bryan (whom he, like all good Roman Catholics, hates) was anxious to make a match between his niece Jane Seymour and William, son of Sir Robert Dormer and Lady Jane Dormer the elder. But Lady Jane, not liking Bryan's character, carried her son off to London, to the house of Sir William Sidney, to whose wife she had made an overture for a match with their eldest daughter Mary. The overture was accepted, "which," continues Clifford, "when Sir Francis Bryan understood, seeing his pretence deluded, was ill-pleased. . . . He sent them word that they should see his niece as well bestowed. For he, carrying her up to the Court, placed her with the Lady Anne Boleyn, the Queen, in whose service the King affected her, for which there was often much scratching and bye-blows between the Queen and her maid."

From an engraving by W. Bond, after Holbein's painting in the Duke of Bedford's collection.

JANE SEYMOUR.

[*To face p.* 246.

In spite of Clifford's explicit statement, it is generally accepted that Jane Seymour was first a maid of honour to Queen Katharine; though this does not of course disprove Clifford's story, as she may have retired from the Court on Katharine's removal and have been brought back again later. She is supposed to have been born about 1509, and was one of the eight children of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, Wiltshire, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John Wentworth, through whom some connection with royal blood was claimed. The relationship with Bryan is obscure. Sir John Seymour was groom of the chamber to Henry VIII. and governor of Bristol Castle; and his sons, Edward and Thomas, early began to make their mark at Court, where they were destined afterwards to be such notable figures.

In September, 1535, a visit is recorded of the King to Wolf Hall; and it is possible that, if Jane was then at her father's home, Henry's notice was first drawn to her at this time, away from other female society.

Jane was neither brilliant of intellect nor beautiful. But she was pale and demure, and in this way may have attracted the King by her contrast with Anne, in the same way as Anne had attracted him by her contrast with Katharine. Anyhow, Henry had discovered one whom he considered suitable as his third wife, when he should be free to take such.

The meeting between Henry and Francis's representatives did not result in any good. Chapuys heard that the King appeared "sad and melancholy" when he read the letters which the Bailly of Troyes presented to him. It was soon obvious that the old suspicions between the two kings still persisted,

and that neither was ready to make concessions. To Henry, Dinteville's attitude appeared arrogant; and he could not hold his own anger in check. Cromwell, who had previously exhibited rudeness to the resident French ambassador, was little better to the special envoy. When he saw it was useless to prolong his stay in England, Dinteville requested to be allowed to return home, while Henry decided to send Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, over to France, to try whether he could do anything, and with instructions to "watch the French King's inward demeanour."

The French mission must have seen Anne during their stay in England, for one of them* writes to Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, that she had told him that her greatest wish, next to bearing a son, was to see Margaret again. With regard to the information for which Francis had asked concerning the state of England, a memorandum from the Bishop of Tarbes (who was succeeding Morette as resident French ambassador) to Dinteville records that "the lower people are greatly exasperated with the Queen, saying a thousand ill and improper things against her, and also against those who support her in her enterprises, charging upon them all the inconveniences which they see will arise from war [with the Emperor]." Francis's spies, in fact, found England seething with discontent, London plague-stricken, the country suffering from bad weather and a poor harvest, no one pleased with the recent executions, and trade in such a state that it was felt that only the cutting off of

* Unknown writer to the Queen of Navarre, September 15th, 1535 ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IX., page 127). The memorandum which follows is in the same volume, page 187.

Flanders through war was required to ruin it entirely.

The Bishop of Tarbes also notes, what would not be displeasing to his master, that Henry's affection for his wife is "less than it has been and diminishes day by day, because he has new *amours*"—which may be presumed to be a reference to Jane Seymour.

Before leaving England, Dinteville asked permission to see the Princess Mary, concerning whom Francis was anxious as his intended daughter-in-law. Henry, though not recognizing the betrothal, gave permission for a visit to the two young princesses, now at Eltham. Thither accordingly Dinteville and his suite proceeded, accompanied by a gentleman of the King's bedchamber, whose name is not given in the French account. This gentleman told them on the way that he had secretly been instructed by the Queen to watch them; from which it is evident that he was not a very loyal friend to Anne. On arrival at Eltham they found that they were not to be allowed to see the elder princess. From Chapuys we learn that Lady Shelton had been ordered by her niece to prevent this, and had already told Mary to keep her room while the French were there. Mary was indignant, but, having been able to communicate with Chapuys before their arrival, was advised by him to obey. She did so, and solaced herself by playing the spinet in her room during their visit. So the envoys only saw the baby Elizabeth.

On their way back from Eltham the French were cheered by the people, who knew that they had called to see the beloved Princess Mary. As a further sign of her great popularity, it was noted that, on her

recent journey with Elizabeth to Eltham from Greenwich, crowds had assembled to cheer her, among them some ladies of high station, who were consequently arrested and sent for a while to the Tower. Among these ladies were Lady Rochford and Lady William Howard, Norfolk's sister-in-law.*

Chapuys, who had also intimated a desire to visit the Princess Mary, was politely reassured by Cromwell as to her health, about which "no one feels more anxiety than her father," and was asked to defer his visit until a more convenient time. While continuing his discourtesy toward the French, to such an extent that the Bishop of Tarbes made a complaint about it, Cromwell was particularly courteous to the Imperial ambassador, who indeed felt moved to write of him to Granvelle that "he speaks well in his own language, and tolerably in Latin, French and Italian, is hospitable, liberal both with his property and with gracious words, magnificent in his household and in building." Cromwell had not in vain studied in the school of Wolsey, as far as exterior things were concerned.

Having dispatched Gardiner to France, still in the hope of weaning the King from his regard for the Pope —which really went further than Henry suspected, for Francis had already secretly agreed to help in carrying out a Bull of Deprivation, provided that the Emperor acted with him!—Henry continued his progress. This he had continued into October, owing to the slow abatement of the plague in London. On October 2nd we hear that "the King and the Queen is merry and hawks daily, and likes Winchester and that

* It appears that Friedmann (Vol. II., page 128) was the first to point out that these two were among the rash ladies.

quarter, and praises it daily ; " and on the 19th that " the King's Grace is mery " and is going *via* Easthamstead to Windsor.*

At length, the deaths from plague having stopped, the Court returned to town, where news came of the serious illness of King Francis. Henry was truly concerned. In spite of his distrust of him, he still looked on Francis as his bulwark against Papal censures. Accordingly when further news arrived of his good brother's recovery, he had the event celebrated by a splendid " masse of the Holie Ghost and *Te Deum*," as Wriothesley calls it, in St. Paul's Cathedral on November 12th ; and a few days later he hastened Francis Bryan off with a reminder to Gardiner in France to urge on the convalescent the same old policy, which he had been commending to him so long, of repudiation of Rome. But Gardiner could do nothing ; and the end of 1535 arrived with Anglo-French relations still in the same ambiguous state. In the meantime, the Pope, or rather Consistory, actually took a further step forward. In mid-December a monitory was issued, " fixing," as Ortiz writes to the Empress, " a space of two months for the King to turn from his heresy and schism and public adultery, and then he will not be declared deprived of his kingdom." No more than Pope Clement could Pope Paul be accused of undue precipitation.

Whether Paul had really any hope of the English King undoing his past deeds and seeking reconcilement with the Church cannot be ascertained. None of Henry's actions suggested such a change of heart.

* Letters from Sir Richard Graynfeld (Grenville) and Sir Francis Bryan in " Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IX.

Cromwell, through his deputies, had been steadily pressing on with his visitation of the dioceses, though confining his work of spoliation chiefly to the smaller monastries at present. There was a lull in executions, though minor persecutions of the clergy continued. With regard to the taking back of Katharine, and with that the restoration of Mary to her rank, there was not the slightest sign. Indeed, their adherents were prophesying speedy ends for both. They believed that Henry contemplated ridding himself of the two—failing by poison, which would be too suspicious in the case of Mary, then on the block.

The first serious suggestion of execution as a means of freeing Henry from the presence of the ex-Queen and her daughter seems to occur in a letter written by Chapuys to the Emperor on November 6th, 1535. The ambassador relates how the Marchioness of Exeter, who, like her husband, was Katharine's firm supporter from the first, sent word to him that Henry had lately told some of his most confidential councillors that he would no longer endure the trouble, fear and suspense caused by Katharine and Mary, and that they must see to it that he was released in the next Parliament, for he swore he would wait no more.

Seventeen days later Chapuys tells the Emperor of a secret visit to him by the Marchioness of Exeter, in disguise, to confirm the information she had sent him. She added that, seeing tears in the eyes of some of his hearers, Henry told them tears and wry faces were of no avail. Even if it cost him his crown, he would carry his purpose into effect. "These are things too monstrous to believe," comments the ambassador; "but considering what has passed and goes on daily—

the long continuance of these threats—and moreover that the Concubine, who long ago plotted the death of these ladies and thinks of nothing but getting rid of them, is the party who governs everything and whom the King has no power to contradict, the matter is very dangerous."

Similarly, Chapuys informs Granvelle, again on Lady Exeter's authority, that Henry has declared he will see that soon Mary shall want neither company nor retinue, and that she shall be an example that no one shall disobey the laws.

The Imperialists all believed that the King was ready to put to death not only his former wife, but Mary also, and that Anne was the instigator. Even from Rome Ortiz was writing to the Empress on November 22nd that *la Manceba* had often said of Mary, "She is my death, and I am hers, so I will take care that she shall not laugh at me after my death!"

Was all this true? Probably Henry would have had no scruples concerning Katharine; but it is doubtful whether we should attach much importance to the violence of his language against his daughter. He was determined to break her spirit, as he finally did—after Anne Boleyn's death. But, as has been noted already, a certain amount of affection for his offspring always marked him.

Of Anne it could not be expected that she should regard Katharine and Mary with other feelings than fear. Their existence *was* a menace both to her and her daughter; and, in the event of a successful rising against Henry in their favour, there could be no doubt what her fate, if not Elizabeth's, would be. This is not the same as saying that she was prepared to go to

the length of murder, as her enemies asserted. Indeed, in spite of the threats that Mary should not laugh after her death, she did not abandon attempts at conciliation. With Katharine obviously the idea of such attempts was absurd. Besides, she was passing beyond the possibility of conciliation and the reach of enmity alike. The first week of 1536 saw her precede her supplanter out of life, little over four months in advance of her.

The facts of Katharine's miserable and tragic end are familiar* ; how, already on her death-bed at Kimbolton at Christmas 1535, she was denied even the solace of a last sight of her daughter ; how, though not without obstacles, she was allowed to see the Imperial ambassador and made her complaint of her nephew's failure to come to the aid of her and Mary ; how she seemed to be recovering strength until the night of January 7th, when she recognized the approach of death ; how she received the Sacrament at dawn, and then dictated her last wishes in a letter to the man who had been her husband, making such bequests as she could (which he mostly disregarded), pardoning him all, and wishing and devoutly praying God that He would also pardon him, and finishing with the words, " Lastly I do vow that mine eyes desire you above all things."

That afternoon she was dead, and her body was speedily embalmed and put in a leaden coffin. A rumour at once arose that she had been poisoned, for the man who had done the embalming told her con-

* See M. A. S. Hume, " The Wives of Henry VIII.," pages 250–6, for the best summarized account, drawn from the various original sources, Spanish and English.

fessor, the old Spanish Bishop of Llandaff, that he had found her heart "black and hideous," whereon her doctor at once declared that it was a case of poison. The doctor, who was also a Spaniard, had already told Chapuys that he suspected poisoning, though of a slow and cunningly contrived kind. Katharine's modern historian, Mr. Hume, appears to share his opinion and to attribute the crime to the King, who had urgent political reasons for wishing Katharine to die, "since he dared not carry out his threat of having her attainted and taken to the Tower." He does not suggest that Anne Boleyn was implicated; but the earlier writer, Friedmann, evidently wavers on the point. Like so many others, Friedmann attaches an entirely undue importance to every suggestion by Chapuys.

The Court was at Greenwich when the news of his first wife's death arrived. "God be praised," exclaimed the King, "that we are free from all suspicion of war!" The following day, which was a Sunday, Chapuys pictures him for us robed in yellow attending a Mass, to which the Princess Elizabeth was taken, "with trumpets and other great triumphs." After dinner he entered the room where the ladies danced and acted like one transported with joy. Then, sending for Elizabeth, he showed her round the room. "He has done the like on other days since," says Chapuys, "and has had some jousts at Greenwich."

It is noticeable that the chronicler Hall only records that "Queen Anne wore yellow for the mourning;" but the Imperial ambassador, who usually in courtier's fashion refrains from criticizing a brother monarch to his master, may surely be trusted in this instance to

describe the scene truly. Besides, Henry's alleged behaviour is in thorough keeping with his character. We may deplore that Anne also wore the joyful colours on the death of her enemy. She could scarcely be expected, however, to exhibit sorrow; for the atmosphere of hatred in which she was compelled to live was a poor school for the nurturing of love for one's enemies, or even decent regard for their memories.

From the painting, probably after Johannes Corvus, in the National Portrait Gallery.

KATHARINE OF ARAGON.

[*To face p.* 256.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PLOT AGAINST ANNE

THE death of Katharine of Aragon marked the opening of the last brief phase in Anne Boleyn's life. Its immediate significance was disguised by the fact that Henry, in spite of his passion for Jane Seymour, was determined to wait for a certain event which might rehabilitate Anne in his eyes. If the male child arrived, even so late in the day as now, she might keep her place.

Consequently there was no outward change at Court for the present. Katharine's removal had cut the ground from under the Emperor's feet, as Henry had anticipated. It seemed a good idea to the King and to Cromwell to attempt to use Imperial influence on the Princess Mary; and Anne was willing to make a fresh advance to the obstinate girl. Cromwell dropped a hint to one of the ambassador's staff that, the ex-Queen being dead, nothing now remained but to persuade Mary to obey her father's wishes, in which matter the aid of Chapuys would be more effectual than anybody's! Meanwhile, Anne (as Chapuys learnt from Mary herself) "threw the first bait" to the Princess, sending her a message by Lady Shelton that if she would lay aside her obstinacy and obey, she would find her the best friend in the world. Anne

would, indeed, be like a second mother to her, and would obtain for her anything she could ask. If she wished to come to Court, she should be exempted from carrying Anne's train and might even walk always at her side.

These were no small concessions on Anne's part, and Lady Shelton "in hot tears did not cease to urge the Princess" to consider them. But Mary's steadfast reply was that no daughter in the world would be more obedient to her father in what she could, saving her honour and conscience. Lady Shelton therefore went back to her niece, and explained that the Princess did not care for the offers made to her, and would rather die a hundred times than change her mind or do anything against her conscience. Anne replied with the following letter, which has been preserved in a curious way :

"Mistress Shelton, my pleasure is that you do not further move the Lady Mary to be towards the King's Grace otherwise than it pleases herself. What I have done has been more for charity than for anything that the King or I care what road she takes, or whether she will change her purpose, for if I have a son, as I hope shortly, I know what will happen to her ; and therefore, considering the Word of God, to do good to one's enemy, I wished to warn her beforehand, because I have daily experience that the King's wisdom is such as not to esteem her repentance of her rudeness and unnatural obstinacy when she has no choice. By the law of God and of the King, she ought clearly to acknowledge her error and evil conscience, if her blind affection had not so blinded her eyes that she will see nothing but what pleases herself. Mistress

Shelton, I beg you not to think to do me any pleasure by turning her from any of her wilful courses. . . ."*

This letter, which Lady Shelton, either by accident or by design, dropped in the Princess's oratory, was picked up and transcribed by her and sent to Chapuys, the original then being replaced. The copy was forwarded to the Emperor on February 17th, 1536; but the date on which the letter itself was written is obviously at least three weeks earlier, as is shown by the words "if I have a son." That hoped-for son was prematurely born on January 29th. In Wriothesley's words, "She said that she had reckoned herself at that tyme but fiftene weekes gonne with cheild; it was said she tooke a fright, for the King ran that tyme at the ring and had a fall from his horse, but he had no hurt; and she tooke such a fright withall that it caused her to fall in travaile, and so was delivered afore her full tyme, which was a great discomfort to all this realme."

From Chapuys also we hear of the King, on January 24th, mounting on a great horse and having so heavy a fall at the lists that everyone thought it a miracle he was not killed; and, in a later letter, of the news being brought to Anne by the Duke of Norfolk, whom she consequently blamed for causing her miscarriage through fright.

A quite different version is that given in Clifford's "Life of Jane Dormer;" for he says that "the King seeming to affect Jane Seymour, and having her on his knee, as Queen Anne espied, who was then thought

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. X., page 117, from a modern copy in the Vienna archives. The concluding sentences in the letter are obscure.

to be with child, she for anger and disdain miscarried, as she said, betwitting the King with it, who willed her to pardon him, and he would not displease her in that kind thereafter." Probably Clifford does not here mean to cast doubt on there having been a miscarriage at all; but we have already heard that one enemy, the Bishop of Faenza, papal nuncio in France, wrote to Rome how "that woman" (by which, of course, he meant Anne) pretended to miscarry of a son when she was not really with child at all, and how "to keep up the deceit she would allow no one to attend upon her but her sister," etc.* We may perhaps believe out of this that Anne had Mary Stafford with her at the time of her miscarriage.

A suggestion of Clifford's story is to be found in Chapuys, who, in scouting the theory that Anne was frightened by the Duke of Norfolk, says that some attributed the accident to Anne's dread that "the King would treat her like the late Queen, especially considering the treatment shown to a lady of the Court, named Mistress Semel [*sic*], to whom, many say, he has lately made great presents."†

It is not unlikely that it was really Anne's chagrin over the King's attentions to Jane Seymour which caused the mishap, but that from policy she gave out that Norfolk's message had alarmed her. Chapuys was at this time receiving many pieces of information from various sources, about some of which he had his doubts. Writing on January 29th, but before he had heard of the miscarriage, he repeated a tale, on authority which he could not guarantee, that, not-

* Letter of March 10th, 1536, already referred to on page 15.

† Chapuys to the Emperor, February 10th, 1536.

withstanding the joy she had shown over Katharine's death, Anne had frequently wept since, fearing lest they might do with her as they had done with Katharine. He was more inclined to trust what he had heard that very morning from the Exeters, who had it from one of the principal persons at Court, that "the King had said to someone in great confidence, and as it were in confession, that he had made this marriage seduced by witchcraft, and for that reason he considered it null; and that this was evident, because God did not permit them to have male issue, and that he believed he might take another wife."

It is very strange that this remark of Henry's should be reported on the day that the hope of male issue by Anne was finally dashed; and one is tempted to believe that Chapuys accidentally ante-dated his letter, and so was quoting Henry's wrathful speech after he knew, but before people in general were aware, of what had happened.

Of the King's brutal behaviour Chapuys gives us other information. On February 25th he narrates for the Emperor's benefit how he has heard from several courtiers that for over three months Henry had not spoken more than three times to Anne, and that when she miscarried he scarcely said anything to her, except that he saw clearly that God did not wish to give him male children by her; and in leaving her he told her, spitefully, that he would speak to her after she got up. "The Concubine attributed her misfortune to two causes," concludes the ambassador; "first, the King's fall; and, secondly, that the love she bore him was greater than the late Queen's, so that her heart broke when she saw that he loved

others—at which remark the King was much grieved, and has shown his sentiments by the fact that during these festive days [Shrovetide] he is here and has left her in Greenwich, whereas formerly he could not leave her for an hour."

If Anne's real feelings towards her monstrous husband were such as she represented them by this comparison between her state and Katharine's, she becomes by it a more enigmatical creature than ever. She was undoubtedly a woman of brain and of force of character, which makes it difficult to believe that she could not appreciate the badness and the grossness of the man who was clearly preparing to cast her off. Did she now so cling to that which she was losing? And if so, how did she pass the closing months of her life? Henry, we know, with the aid of Cromwell and others who would pay any price for his favour, produced "evidence" at her trial that she indulged in promiscuous license. Bishop Burnet, who was not absolutely eulogistic of Anne, but took pains to study carefully a part of Henry's reign which was very important for his "History of the Reformation," says that she devoted herself to good works, that in her last nine months she distributed between £14,000 and £15,000 to the poor,* and that shortly before her fall she was instrumental in urging Henry to order a new English translation of the Bible. Burnet's idea of her is that this charitable and religious side of her character was not incompatible with a freedom of carriage, even levity, and

* These figures are the same as those given by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who mentions also "moneys intended by her towards raising a stock for poor artificers in the Realme."

an innocent lack of discretion. At least, he quotes without disapproval the opinions of those who were willing to admit her lighter side, while maintaining that it was not guilty levity.

The news of the disappointment which had befallen Anne the Queen was received with malignant joy by her hosts of enemies, not only in England, but abroad. It is typical of the bitterness of feeling to find Ortiz writing to the Empress from Rome that it is news to thank God for that *la Ana* had miscarried of a son! Then we see Chapuys telling Granvelle of the progress of the King's new amour, with the installation of the lady's brother, Edward Seymour, as a gentleman of the privy chamber—which, we know, was designed to lead to other things. It is certainly odd that at this very period, March, 1536, the Emperor should write to Chapuys, suggesting that it might be well for him to make up to Anne and to counsel Mary to cease her hostile tone, as Henry might conceivably take to wife someone more dangerous than Anne. But the ambassador did not find it necessary to take his master's advice. The danger that Charles feared was a French princess as Henry's third wife, and it was not for such that Anne was being discarded.

Among the guests at the ambassador's for dinner one day was Henry Pole, Lord Montague, who hinted at a new marriage soon, and intimated that Cromwell and the Queen were on bad terms. This inspired Chapuys with the idea of calling on the Chief Secretary, which he did after dinner on the last day of March. He describes the scene to the Emperor in a letter the following day. The two

men sat down to converse on the window-seat, the Englishman with his head resting against the window, while he waited for the other to open proceedings. Chapuys began by saying that he had not paid a visit for some time, remembering what Cromwell had told him about Anne's suspicions, and how she would like to see his head cut off. He wished him a more gracious mistress and one more grateful for all his services to the King. With regard to the talk of a new marriage, that would be much to the King's advantage, as his present one would never be held lawful. It was true that a more lawful marriage, resulting in male issue, would prejudice the Princess Mary's claims; yet the affection which Chapuys felt for the King and the realm, and for Cromwell in particular, made him desire another mistress—not for any hatred of Anne, who had never done him any harm, he added.

Cromwell took these remarks in good part, and explained that he had not been the cause of the Boleyn marriage, though, seeing the King determined on it, he had smoothed the way to it. Notwithstanding that His Majesty was still inclined to pay attention to ladies, he believed that henceforward he would live honourably and chastely, continuing in his marriage. Cromwell's tones were colourless, but he put his hand up to his mouth, as though concealing a smile. If there was to be another Queen, he concluded, it would not be a French one.

So these two statesmen discussed the doomed woman, in whose death they were not a little instrumental; and then the Imperial ambassador made his way home to write out his gossip for Charles's eyes.

In the same letter he told the familiar story how Jane Seymour by her virtuous demeanour (though Chapuys had his own ideas as to the possibility of any woman being virtuous at the Court of England) had inflamed the King so far that, to prove his intentions honourable, he would only converse with her in the rooms of her brother Edward and his wife, newly installed in the palace close to himself. He also told of her being coached by Anne's enemies to hold out for nothing less than marriage and to seize an opportunity of telling Henry how his present union was universally considered unlawful and detestable. This latter she was to do in the company of some of the nobility, who would back up her statement on oath. The Marchioness of Exeter blandly suggested to Chapuys that he should be present on the occasion and add his word; and the scheme struck him as a good one.

Events began to move quickly, the Imperial ambassador being able to hasten their progress by the delivery of a favourable response from his master to Henry's overtures. The friendly nature of this was evidently more than suspected in advance of its delivery, for when Chapuys arrived at Greenwich on Easter Tuesday, April 18th, he was warmly received by all the Lords of the Council, including Rochford, and congratulated on the good service he had done in promoting a reconciliation. With Anne's brother he had a superficially most amicable conversation, though Chapuys records that he had difficulty in preventing Rochford from drawing him into "Lutheran discussions."

The royal party was now going to Mass in the

Palace chapel, and Cromwell came to Chapuys and asked him if he would not first kiss the Queen. The message was from Henry, who did not, however, insist upon it. The ambassador excused himself, on the ground that he ought to have his interview with the King first. Rochford was in attendance to conduct him to Mass. In the chapel, Chapuys narrates, "when the King came to the offering there was a great concourse of people, partly to see how the Concubine and I behaved to each other. She was courteous enough, for when I was behind the door by which she entered she turned back to do me such a reverence as I did her."

Poor Anne had divined how the wind blew and tried to trim her sails; but she was no match for the combined forces of Chapuys and her domestic enemies. After Mass came dinner, which the King had in her apartments, attended by the other ambassadors, but not by Chapuys, who dined in the presence-chamber with the courtiers. When Anne asked why the Imperial representative was not there, Henry replied that "it was not without good reason;" and all she could do to show her new sympathies was to abuse the warlike policy of Francis, now engaged in Italian adventures hostile to the interests of Charles. She cannot yet have appreciated how much it meant to win the friendship of Chapuys, had that been possible; but she did within a month, for when she was in the Tower, awaiting execution, she dated her downfall from this day of his visit to Greenwich, since which the King had regarded her with an evil eye.*

* Chapuys to Granvelle, May 19th, 1536.

Dinner was followed by Henry's reception of Chapuys, nearly ruined by the King's grotesque bombast, which offended the ambassador and upset Cromwell, intent on an alliance with the Empire. Chapuys preserved his calm; but Cromwell "took to his bed in pure sorrow" and absented himself from Court for four days. The consequences of this exhibition of Henry's vanity were extraordinary and certainly not to be foreseen, even by those who could fathom Cromwell's diabolical cunning. It does not seem possible, however, to doubt the statement of Chapuys that the Chief Secretary confessed to him later that it was when he had retired home, under stress of the King's displeasure and anger, that he "set himself thinking and planned the affair"—the removal of Anne and her chief friends.*

Chapuys writes to Granvelle on April 24th that, in spite of the fact that he had neither kissed nor spoken to Anne, the Princess Mary and "other good persons" had been somewhat jealous over the incident of the mutual reverences between him and her in the chapel on Easter Tuesday. Politeness required them, he said; though, if he had seen any hope from the King's answer in the afternoon, he would have offered not two but a hundred candles to the Devil or the she-devil! But also he had been told that she was not in the favour of the King. Was it Cromwell who had told him? Or the Marchioness of Exeter?

Two further points of interest we gather from the ambassador's voluminous letters at this time. The first is that the Earl of Wiltshire was clearly unaffected

* Chapuys to the Emperor, June 6th, 1536.

so far by the decline in his daughter's influence; for he had just recently received from the King some fine grants from the spoils of the Church. The other is that Lord Rochford met with a great disappointment on April 23rd. There was a vacancy among the Knights of the Garter by the death of Lord Abergavenny, and the Queen's brother had confidently looked forward to its falling to him. But on St. George's Day the Garter was conferred not on him, but on Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, who was a prominent enemy of the Boleyns, and a friend of the Seymour interest. Chapuys writes to the Emperor (on April 29th) that "it will not be the fault of this Master of the Horse if the Concubine be dismounted. He continually counsels Mistress Seymour and other conspirators; and only four days ago he sent to tell the Princess Mary to be of good cheer, for shortly the opposite party would put water in their wine, the King being already as sick and tired of the Concubine as he could be."

All was ready for the delivery of the last blow; and Cromwell rose from his bed of chagrin to deliver it.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MINE EXPLODES

THOMAS CROMWELL came back to Court with the scheme which he had worked out to restore his credit with the King. He was a desperate man, for whom there was no medium between the control of affairs and the scaffold. Having identified himself with the Imperialist cause, he stood to lose all by a revival of French influence, favoured by the Duke of Norfolk. His slights to the Boleyns—at least to the Queen and her brother—made a renewed alliance with them impossible. The only hope was friendship with the Seymours and their supporters; and the danger was that they might accomplish their ends without his help. As Friedmann has pointed out, it was easy for anyone to get Henry a divorce from Anne, so as to clear the way for his marriage with Jane. But a mere divorce would leave the nucleus of a powerful party in Anne and Rochford, with their fortunes intact and a great body of friends among those of Reform sympathies. Wiltshire did not matter, money being his chief interest now. If Anne and Rochford could be entirely removed, and terror struck into the hearts of their friends, the Boleyn influence would be done with for ever.

What Cromwell proposed to the King was the appointment of a body of commissioners to make

inquiry into every kind of treason, by whomsoever committed, and to hold a special session for the trial of offenders. It is impossible to suppose that Henry was unaware at whom these extraordinary powers were to be aimed. He was a coward, and always suspicious of treason; but he was not likely to give to a minister, who was practically in disgrace, if only for a few days past, a blank cheque of such a kind without having a very good idea of its object. When on April 24th he signed the "commission of oyer and terminer," giving the powers asked for to Lord Chancellor Audley, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Wiltshire and numerous other peers, Cromwell himself, and the nine judges, Henry must have had some intimation from his Chief Secretary that here was a way by which he might effectually get rid of Anne Boleyn. He was tired of her, and any means to so good an end were welcome.

The commission was naturally kept secret until Cromwell was ready to act upon it. The only suggestion we have that there was a suspicion of anything being on foot is that on May 2nd Chapuys told the Emperor that for some days past he had been informed, on good authority, of the King's determination to abandon Anne; but this is too vague to build upon, for the mere abandonment of Anne had long been discussed at Court.

May Day, 1536, dawned at Greenwich without the appearance of a special threat to the Queen, who accompanied her husband to the tilt-yard. Here, writes Wriothesley, was "a great jousting, where was chalengers my Lord of Rochforde and others, and defenders Mr. Noris and others." He makes no

mention of a sudden departure of the King during the jousting. Stow the chronicler is perhaps the first author of that story, making Henry depart in a hurry to Westminster, having with him six persons only, "of which men marvelled." Then the tale grew of Anne, seated in the royal gallery, dropping a handkerchief, which one of the jousters picked up, to wipe his face; and of Henry, espying this, quitting the gallery, mounting his horse, and galloping off to Westminster. It is at least suspicious that the well-informed Wriothesley, who pays special attention to the final tragedy of Anne, has no apparent knowledge of Henry's strange procedure. If Henry actually left the tilt-yard early, it is likely that he did so on receipt of a message from Cromwell, as, indeed, one account says. The tale of the dropped handkerchief was a natural piece of embroidery by Anne's enemies. Sanders, of course, accepted it and gave it wide currency among later historians.

Whatever we may believe of the tilt-yard affair, we know that Cromwell, coiled for a spring since April 24th, struck on May 1st. On the morning of the latter day he gave an invitation to dinner—or, as we should say, lunch—to a certain Mark Smeaton, often called Marks, a good-looking* young man of no birth, groom of the chamber to Henry, who had

* "Queen Mary would never call [Elizabeth] sister, nor be persuaded she was her father's daughter. She would say she had the face and countenance of Mark Sweton [*sic*], who was a very handsome man." This fine example of malignity is to be found in Clifford's "Life of Jane Dormer," page 80. Yet by other accounts, Smeaton had been at Court little over three months.

Cavendish, in one of his doggerel metrical versions ("Life of Wolsey," Vol. II., p. 36), says that Smeaton was a carpenter's son and had been a singing boy in the Cardinal's chapel.

attracted attention by his skill at music. Whether Anne had first discovered his talent or not, she had certainly had him to play for her ; and it would appear that she had given him sums of money—which she was in the habit of doing in what she considered worthy cases. Smeaton arrived to dinner with Cromwell at Stepney, and was at once seized by his host's servants and put under examination. To make this effective, Cromwell used the torture of the knotted cord and a stick round Smeaton's head and extracted from him the "confession" he wanted ; presumably that not only had he received money from the Queen, but that he had committed adultery with her, and that others had done so too.

After this achievement (the account of which is quite plausibly given in "The Spanish Chronicle of Henry VIII.," translated by Mr. Hume*), Cromwell dispatched the miserable Smeaton to the Tower, while he sent word to the King at Greenwich. When he left the jousts, never to set eyes on Anne again, Henry started to ride for Westminster with a few companions, including Sir Henry Norris, long time a favourite of his and chief of his privy chamber. At the same time Norris was a good friend of both the Queen and Lord Rochford, with whom he was naturally much in contact, and whose Reforming views he shared. Evidently Smeaton under torture had implicated Norris, for suddenly the King taxed him with undue intimacy with the Queen. Norris

* This is confirmed by the curious "Memorial" of George Constantyne to Cromwell ("Archæologia," Vol. XXII.), except that Constantyne says that "Markys" was at Stepney under examination on *May even* and was in the Tower on May Day. "The saying is he confessed, but he was first grievously racked."

made an indignant denial. Henry offered him a free pardon if he would confess; but Norris declared that he would rather die than be guilty of such a falsehood, and was ready to prove it false in combat with anyone. According to Constantyne, who was in Norris's employ, Henry kept him under examination all the way back to Westminster. He still held out, and on arrival in London was given in charge of Sir William Fitzwilliam, the Treasurer, and conducted to the Tower. Then, either with or without the other members of the commission, Fitzwilliam returned to Greenwich to deal with Anne.

It would seem that the chief victim of Cromwell's machinations heard of the arrest of Smeaton and Norris the same night, and she may have received also the warning that she must appear before the commissioners next day. Her own half-delirious account of the meeting, given to Sir William Kingston, Governor of the Tower,* was roughly this: "I was cruelly handled at Greenwich, with the King's Council and my Lord of Norfolk, who said 'Tut, tut, tut,' shaking his head three or four times. As for Master Treasurer, he was in the forest of Windsor [*sc.*, rambling]. Master Controller [Sir William Paulet] was a gentleman. But I to be a Queen and to be cruelly handled was never seen!" The cruel handling appears to refer to language only; but that was bad enough, for the commissioners told her that both Smeaton *and Norris* had confessed to adultery with her, and that she must

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. X., in which are transcripts of all Kingston's letters to Cromwell about Anne at the Tower, the mutilated originals being among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

prepare to go by barge to the Tower. Gleefully Chapuys writes to the Emperor the same day how the affair has come to pass much better than anyone could have believed, and how the wretched woman whom he had so often traduced and abused had, "by the judgment of God," been brought in full daylight from Greenwich to the Tower, under the conduct of Norfolk and the two chamberlains, with only four women in attendance on her. "How wonderful it is to think of the sudden change from yesterday to to-day!" he exclaims.

According to Wriothesley, it was 5 p.m. when Anne was brought to the Tower; but no doubt there were sufficient witnesses along the river of her humiliation. Guarded by her hated uncle Norfolk, and with the company only of an unfriendly aunt, the wife of Sir James Boleyn, and three others (Mrs. Cosyns, Mrs. Stoner and an unnamed), none of whom were agreeable to her, she may well have thought of her progress in the same month of May, only three years ago, amid the most gorgeous pageantry that King Henry —and Cromwell—could furnish in her honour. A reminder of her earlier visit to the Tower was also waiting for her in the person of Sir William Kingston; but he waited at another gate this time, the Traitors' Gate. We follow Kingston's account of what followed.

When Norfolk and the other commissioners had left, Kingston prepared to lead Anne to her lodging. "Master Kingston," she asked, "shall I go into a dungeon?" "No, Madam, you shall go into the lodging you lay in at your coronation." "It is too good for me. Jesu, have mercy on me!" exclaimed she, and knelt down, weeping fast. Then, in the midst

of her sorrow, she fell into a great laughing, which, Kingston comments, she has done several times since.

Kingston, who was a spy upon her as well as her gaoler, apparently did not understand Anne's hysteria —"the mother," "the vapours," as Burnet calls it—but he continued to note her conduct for the benefit of Cromwell. She desired that he would move the King to let her have the Sacrament by her, that she might pray for mercy; "for I am as clear from the company of men, as for sin, as I am clear from the company of you," she told him, "and am the King's true wedded wife." Later she asked after her father, whom Kingston had seen that morning at the Court; and her brother, whom Kingston had left at York Place. "And so I did," remarks Kingston to Cromwell; but he knew well enough that Lord Rochford had been brought from York Place to the Tower some hours before his sister.

Then Anne went off into a series of disjointed remarks, all noted by Kingston. "I hear I shall be accused with four men," she began, "and I can say no more but Nay—without I should open my body" (throwing open her gown). "Oh, Norris, hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower with me, and thou and I shall die together; and, Mark, thou art here too! . . . Oh, my mother, thou wilt die with sorrow!" Suddenly she asked: "Master Kingston, shall I die without justice?" "The poorest subject of the King hath justice," replied Kingston—at which it is not surprising to hear that Anne laughed.

The night on which Anne was taken to the Tower, we learn from Chapuys that, when his natural son the Duke of Richmond went to say good-night to

his father and to ask his blessing, Henry began to weep, saying that the Duke and his sister Mary might well thank God for having escaped from the hands of that accursed and venomous harlot, who had tried to poison them. It suited His Majesty that the legend of Anne the poisoner should flourish now!

The next morning, May 3rd, the spying was resumed, and Mrs. Cosyns took a hand, having been sent with Anne to the Tower for that purpose. In fact, Kingston had set her and Lady Boleyn to lie on the pallet in Anne's room; he and his wife lay at her door, and the other two women were without. Mrs. Cosyns extracted from her the information that Norris had said on the previous Sunday to her almoner that he "would swear for the Queen that she was a good woman." "Madam," asked Mrs. Cosyns, "why should there be any such matters spoken of?" "Marry, I bade him do so," replied Anne, "for I asked him why he did not go on with his marriage [to her cousin Margaret Shelton] and he made answer he would tarry a time. Then I said, 'You look for dead men's shoes, for if ought come to the King but good you would look to have me.' And he said if he had had any such thought he would his head were off. And then I said I could undo him if I would; and therewith we fell out."

The following passage in the manuscript of Kingston's letter is mutilated, but has been interpreted as indicating that Anne told Mrs. Cosyns that she told Norris that Weston told her that Norris came more to see her than his supposed sweetheart Madge, *i.e.*, Margaret Shelton. The point of this is that at the end of Kingston's letter of May 3rd is a postscript to the effect that the Queen spoke to him of Weston,

i.e., Sir Francis Weston, a young married man, who had been made Knight of the Bath at her coronation, and said that she had remonstrated with him for loving her cousin Margaret more than his wife ; whereon he replied that he loved one in her house better than either of them. When challenged, he replied " It is yourself." And then " she defied him, as she said to me," writes Kingston.

There would be no object in going into these gleanings by Cromwell's agents in the Tower, if it were not that the only evidence against Anne that merits any attention is such as Kingston collected while she was his prisoner. We give a few more excerpts from Kingston's store :

" For one hour she is determined to die, and the next hour much the contrary. Yesterday after your [Cromwell's] departing, I sent for my wife and Mrs. Cosyns, to know how they had done that day. They said she had been very merry and had made a great dinner, and yet soon after she called for her supper." She asked for Kingston, and when he came to see her told him the story of her ordeal at Greenwich on the morning of May 2nd, adding, " But I think the King does it to prove me ! " (Poor credulous one !)

" I would to God I had my bishops," she said, " for they would all go to the King for me, for I think the most part of England prays for me, and if I die you shall see the greatest punishment for me within this seven-year that ever came to England. And then shall I be in Heaven, for I have done many good deeds."

" I hear say my lord my brother is here," she said. " It is truth," replied Kingston. " I am very glad

we both be so nigh together." And when he told her that Weston and Brereton were also in the Tower she showed good countenance.

Mrs. Stoner having remarked that Mark Smeaton was the worst cherished man in the Tower, for he wore irons, Anne answered: "That is because he is no gentleman. But he never was in my chamber but at Winchester, and there I sent for him to play on the virginals, for my lodging was over the King's. . . . I never spoke with him since but upon Saturday before May Day, and then I found him standing in the round window of my chamber of presence. I asked him why he was so sad, and he answered it was no matter; and then I said, 'You may not look to have me speak to you as I should do to a nobleman, because you are an inferior person.' 'No, no, Madam, a look sufficeth me, and so fare you well!'"

"She hath asked my wife [Lady Kingston] whether anybody makes their beads, and my wife answered, 'Nay, I warrant you!' Then she said, 'They might make ballads well now; but there is none but (? my Lord Rochford) that can do it.' 'Yes,' said my wife, 'Master Wyatt . . .' 'True . . . my lord my brother will die.'"*

* * * * * *

To us these speeches have the sound of a woman distraught, a savour of Ophelia. To Cromwell they were to provide material to bring their utterer to death, and with her her friends; for it cannot be maintained

* This is a fairly hopeless passage, in view of the mutilation of the manuscript. We must remember, however, that Lord Rochford was a poet, and one of those whose works were included in "Tottel's Miscellany," though his contributions cannot be identified.

that there was a scrap of other evidence preserved which can be regarded seriously to prove their guilt —a matter to which we shall return. But we must now stop to note some of the import of these ravings in the Tower.

Lord Rochford, we have said, was arrested earlier on the same day as his sister, and there was no idea, when he was arrested, that he was going to be charged with anything further than connivance at his sister's misdoings. On May 4th Sir Francis Weston, on the strength apparently of what Anne had said to Kingston, and William Brereton, a gentleman of the King's privy chamber, on unknown grounds, were sent to join him ; and on the following day, if not on the same, Thomas Wyatt and a certain Master (or Sir Richard) Page, another gentleman of the King's privy chamber.

The widening of the net was obviously due to the failure to extract anything except from Smeaton. While the male prisoners still numbered only three, Anne's vice-chamberlain, Sir Edward Baynton, who had been easily brought over to the opposition, wrote to Fitzwilliam that people were talking of the fact that " no one will confess anything, but only Mark, of any actual thing. It would, in my foolish conceit," he adds, " much touch the King's honour if it should no further appear. I cannot but believe that the other two are as fully culpable as he, but they keep each other's counsel. I think much of the communication which took place on the last occasion between the Queen and Master Norres [what Anne had told Mrs. Cosyns]. . . . I hear further that the Queen standeth stiffly in her opinion that she will not be convicted, which I think is in the trust she hath in the other two."

Accordingly four more were arrested; and at the same time every attempt was made to get Anne's servants at Greenwich to speak against her, Baynton being much annoyed that a certain Margery, whom he had befriended, was acting strangely toward him. She would not accuse her mistress, he means.

It is assumed that Brereton, Wyatt and Page were seized through something Anne said in her delirium; but the mutilated state of the Kingston letters does not enable us to state definitely what this may have been. Wyatt had a bitter enemy in the Duke of Suffolk, as we have seen; and tales were spread later that he had been induced to make some sort of confession of earlier intimacy with Anne. Then there are two letters from his father, Sir Henry, one to his son and one to Cromwell, which show that in some way the Secretary befriended the younger Wyatt at the time. But the fact remains that Wyatt's name, like Page's, was entirely absent from the indictments finally brought against Anne, while every kind of charge that could be twisted against her was used. He was in danger, as is shown by his poem beginning: "You that in love find luck and abundance," which clearly refers to the events of May, 1536; but that he escaped is fair evidence that the danger was not very great.* He was very soon in favour with the King again, trusted and before long knighted.

* I cannot share Mr. Hume's belief in the trustworthiness of the tale in the Spanish "Chronicle of Henry VIII." that Wyatt, confronted now with Cromwell, asked him to remind the King of a warning which he had given him about Anne before the marriage—and so got off. No doubt, however, the Spanish writer accurately reports some *gossip* of the day; and he was naturally not concerned whether Wyatt appeared a blackguard or not.

It might have been expected that one man would have made an attempt to intercede for Anne, the chief among "her bishops," Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. What happened in fact is that on May 2nd, being in the country, Cranmer received a summons from Cromwell to return to Lambeth. There next morning he began to write a letter to the King, which was not a remarkably strong piece of advocacy. "If the reports of the Queen be true," he said, "they are only to her dishonour, not yours. I am clean amazed, for I never had better opinion of woman; but I think Your Highness would not have gone so far if she had not been culpable. . . . I loved her not a little for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and His Gospel. . . . I trust you will bear no less zeal to the Gospel than you did before, as your favour to the Gospel was not led by affection to her."

As he was finishing this letter, Cranmer received a summons to appear before the Council. What passed there we do not know; but he came back to Lambeth and wrote: "I am sorry such faults can be proved against the Queen as they report." His subsequent action with regard to his hapless patroness can cause no surprise. It seems hardly necessary to insert Cranmer's name, as has been suggested, in a list of saints of the English Church.

While Cromwell and his agents were busy manufacturing evidence against his wife, the injured Henry was seeking distraction. Writing to the Emperor on May 19th, Chapuys tells of the King's gaiety, his round of banquets with ladies of the Court, at this house and that, and his returns at midnight along the

Thames, with divers instruments of music playing on his barge. On one night he was received, with attendant ladies, at supper by John Kite, Bishop of Carlisle. We must presume His Majesty was inebriated ; for he told the Bishop he had long expected what was happening, and he pulled out a tragedy which he had composed on the subject. To his credit, the Bishop would not look at it.

Jane Seymour, out of respect for her modesty, had been kept during the first days of the affair at Sir Nicholas Carew's house ; but on May 14th, the day before Anne's trial, she was lodged within a mile of York Place, waited on by royal officials and cooks, and overwhelmed with gifts from the King. At last public decency was aroused, and before Anne's death Henry succeeded in creating for her a sympathy which had never been hers before. He even ended by stirring Eustache Chapuys to a sense that " the Concubine " merited a little more regard.

CHAPTER XX

TRIAL AND DEATH

ON May 10th and 11th respectively the grand juries of Middlesex and Kent, sitting at Westminster and Deptford, had before them the indictments which the King's advisers had worked up against the prisoners in the Tower; or at least against six of them, for no charges were brought against Wyatt and Page. Adultery with the Queen was alleged against Smeaton, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and, most terrible of all, Lord Rochford, who, as we have heard, was at first only accused of conniving at his sister's misconduct. In addition a charge of conspiring the King's death was now brought. The wording of this latter charge is noteworthy. It was put forward that, on October 31st, 1535, at Westminster, and on January 8th, 1536, at East Greenwich,

"The said Queen and these other traitors . . . conspired the King's death and destruction, the Queen often saying she would marry one of them as soon as the King died, and affirming that she would never love the King in her heart. And the King having a short time since become aware of the said abominable crimes and treasons against himself took such inward displeasure and heaviness,

especially from the said Queen's malice and adultery, that certain harms and perils have befallen his royal body."

The genuineness of the King's grief may be judged by what we have just seen of his gaiety and carousing with the ladies of his Court. The dates assigned to these acts of conspiracy could only be explained if we had a full account of the proceedings at the preliminary and final trials, which we have not. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the death of Henry would have been absolutely fatal to Anne, either before or after that of Katharine.

With regard to the other charges, Smeaton's torture-wrung confession was put in; and the obedient grand juries found true bills against all the prisoners. On May 12th the royal commissioners sat in Westminster Hall to deal with the cases of Norris, Weston, Brereton and Smeaton. The Lord Chancellor presided, and the Earl of Wiltshire was present with the rest. The indictments were brought and the evidence produced (which we shall leave for the present), and a jury of twelve was empanelled. Smeaton had pleaded guilty to adultery, but not to treason; the other three, not guilty on both counts. The expected verdict was given—even if it had not been a packed jury, no other verdict could have been dared—and all four prisoners were condemned to the horrible death inflicted on traitors in those days.

On the following day the Duke of Norfolk, Lord High Steward of England for the occasion, issued a precept summoning twenty-six selected peers for the trial of the Queen and her brother at the Tower

From an engraving by Houbraken, after a painting by Holbein.

ANNE BOLEYN.

[*To face p.* 284.

two days hence. Cromwell wrote to Gardiner and Sir John Wallop, the English representatives in France, in the interval and prophesied that the verdict would undoubtedly go the same way. His letter* is very interesting as giving the official view of how the discovery was made of the dreadful affair.

The Queen's incontinent living was "so rank and common," he says, that the ladies of her privy chamber could not conceal it. It came to the ears of some of the Council, who told His Majesty, although in great fear. Certain persons of the privy chamber and others of her side were examined, and the matter appeared so evident that, besides that crime, "there brake out a certain conspiracy of the King's death, which extended so far that all we that had the examination of it quaked at the danger His Grace was in."

A very pretty effort at a plausible explanation by the self-confessed author of the plot!

Another curious point emerges concerning Cromwell's activities on the King's behalf. On May 13th he sent to the Earl of Northumberland, then residing at Newington Green, Sir Reynold Carnaby, who was known as a friend of his, to try to extract from him an admission that Anne had been precontracted to him. But Northumberland, who was already in the grip of the illness which was to carry him off next year, declined to make the admission, writing to Cromwell that he had long ago been examined on the matter before both Archbishops and had taken the Sacrament that there had never been a

* "Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. X. Letter of May 14th.

precontract. The significance of this attempt by Cromwell will appear a little later.

On Monday, May 15th, came the trials of Anne and of Rochford in the Tower, the twenty-six chosen peers taking their seats in the great hall, under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, and Anne, whose case was to be tried first, having a seat on the platform facing them. The Lord Mayor and other representatives of the City were present, and a large crowd, stated by Chapuys to have numbered two thousand, was admitted to the body of the court. By this publicity Henry and Cromwell no doubt intended to advertise the perfect fairness of the proceedings; but they were destined to realize their mistake.

The formal indictments were brought, which had already made their appearance before the grand juries of Middlesex and Kent and at the trial of Norris and his three companions on May 12th. These are preserved at the Record Office, having been found again after they had been lost from view for about three hundred years, and are reproduced in an Appendix to the Camden Society's edition of Wriothesley's "Chronicle of England under the Tudors." They are written in execrable legal Latin, and, apart from their tediousness, are unfit for publication. But it may be stated that they are in no way evidence, being simply a string of statements that Anne, at such and such a date, at some place either in Middlesex or Kent, incited one of the other accused to commit adultery and that at a subsequent date the act took place. The charges range from October, 1533, to April, 1536, and involve miscon-

duct a month after the birth of Elizabeth and a month before the mishap of January 29th, 1536, as Friedmann took the pains to work out. Some of them can be definitely traced to Anne's ravings during the first days in the Tower. However, they need not detain us. They were either foul inventions, or they were capable of being supported by real evidence. The remaining charge, of conspiring the King's death, we have seen. It bears its refutation on its face.

The question remains, What evidence was put in to substantiate these egregious indictments? We have unfortunately only hearsay upon which to go, some strictly contemporary and some later in date. We may proceed to examine such of this as appears worthy of notice.

We have seen that Cromwell, in his letter to Gardiner and Wallop, spoke of the ladies of her privy chamber being unable to conceal the Queen's incontinent living. When Bishop Burnet, in his "History of the Reformation," came to deal with the subject of Anne Boleyn's fall, devoting more than ordinary pains to learn all he could concerning it, as he tells us, as being "one of the most memorable passages of this reign," he speaks of "the learned Spelman, who was a judge at that time" and a commonplace book which Spelman kept. In that Spelman wrote, "As for the evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the Lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the Queen, and, becoming on a sudden infirm some time before her death, did swear this matter to her . . ." At that point, unhappily, the manuscript was torn, and Burnet could give no more. Now

we know that a Lady Wingfield was a friend of Anne's before her elevation to the throne.* But we know little more; and, as Lady Wingfield's name does not crop up at all in contemporary talk about the trial, we may abandon this line of investigation.

Examinations had been made of Anne's still living servants, or ladies in waiting, at Greenwich Palace, including the disappointing Margery; but not a word comes out of what they had to say, unless it be that the monstrous charge that Rochford had once stayed long in his sister's room, with a certain implication, was based on their reports. Perhaps, too, the inconsequent remarks which Anne had made in the Tower about Norris, Weston, and Smeaton were prompted by suggestions by the ladies Cosyns and Stoner—that is, indeed, fairly obvious—and then substantiated by statements of others. But if so we do not find it stated.

The prosecution for the King, having no restraint put upon them, introduced much into their conduct of the case which had nothing to do with the indictments, such as that the Queen and her brother were in the habit of ridiculing Henry to one another, decrying his literary achievements, his dress, etc.; and Anne was alleged to have told Lady Rochford that the King was impotent, while Rochford himself was charged with casting doubt upon Elizabeth's

* There is a letter addressed to Lady Wingfield by Anne, signing herself "Your own assured friend during my life, Anne Rochford." Miss Strickland wrongly assigns this letter to 1525, thinking that a "trouble" mentioned in it must refer to the death of Sir Richard Wingfield. That is an unnecessary assumption; and Anne was not officially known as Lady Anne Rochford until the end of 1529, when her father was made Earl of Wiltshire.

paternity. These accusations seem rather to have come up at Rochford's trial than Anne's, but may be dealt with here. With regard to what Anne was likely to say to Lady Rochford, it must be remembered that they belonged to rival camps, Lady Rochford, in fact, being on very doubtful terms with her husband as well. Kingston relates in one of his letters to Cromwell that she sent a friendly message to Rochford in the Tower, and said that she would humbly sue the King on his behalf; but it was commonly supposed afterwards that she had denounced him and Anne,* which partly helped to gain for her the name of "the infamous Lady Rochford."

It is time to leave these sordid allegations of the prosecution and come to the conduct of the defendants. Anne behaved herself with great dignity, from all accounts, and was never more a Queen than now. She denied all the charges against her, and made an excellent impression. But it was not a question of justice. The King demanded a condemnation, and when the twenty-six peers, beginning with the youngest present, were called upon to record their verdicts, every one said Guilty. It may be noted that the Earl of Wiltshire was spared the ignominy of serving on the jury. The Earl of Northumberland was there, and had to sign with the rest, but was then so overcome by illness that he could not take part in Rochford's trial.

* She lost no time, however, in writing to Cromwell, making an appeal for herself as "a power desolat widow." There also survives a letter from the Earl of Wiltshire to Cromwell, in which he most reluctantly agrees to increase his allowance to his daughter-in-law, bidding Cromwell tell the King "I do this alonely for his pleasure."

It was Norfolk's lot to pronounce sentence upon his niece—Constantyne says that "the water ronne" in his eyes, which we hope was true—that she should be burnt or beheaded, at the King's pleasure. On hearing it, Chapuys writes, "the Concubine preserved her composure, saying that she entirely welcomed death, and that what she regretted most was that persons who were innocent and loyal to the King were to die through her; all she asked was for a short time to make her soul."

The French verse history of Anne Boleyn, to which we have alluded earlier in this volume, says that her face did not change, but she appealed to God whether the sentence was deserved; then, turning to the judges, she said she would not dispute with them; but she believed there was some other reason for which she was condemned than the cause alleged, of which her conscience acquitted her, for she had always been faithful to the King. But she did not say this to save her life, as she was quite prepared to die. "Her speech made even her bitterest enemies pity her," adds the writer, who is far from being a partisan of the Queen.

Rochford's trial followed immediately, and he too defended himself with dignity and courage. He successfully rebutted the vile charge of incest; and odds were laid, "and that great odds," says Constantyne, that he would be acquitted, until a certain incident occurred. A note was handed to him by the prosecution to answer. The question was whether his sister had ever told his wife that the King was impotent. Rochford read it out aloud, which he was not intended to do. This, it was supposed,

sealed his doom. An unanimous verdict of guilty was returned, and he was sentenced to a traitor's death. He took it calmly, saying that since he must die, he would no longer protest his innocence, but would acknowledge he deserved to die; he only begged the King to allow his debts to be paid out of his goods. As has been frequently pointed out by the historians, to refuse to acknowledge that death was deserved would have involved forfeiture of goods to the Crown.

For the men, the farce was played out, except for the curtain on Tower Green. Only Anne had a fresh torture to go through first. On the day following her trial, Cranmer came to visit her in prison. What happened at their interview remains a secret, except that Anne was induced to admit the existence of an impediment to her marriage with Henry, which rendered it null and her daughter Elizabeth, if still Henry's child, a bastard. Had Northumberland been willing to say there had been a precontract between Anne and himself, this would have been unnecessary; but he would not. Therefore it was necessary to get some other admission from Anne, which could be used by Cranmer on Henry's behalf without its exact nature being publicly divulged. Friedmann's conjecture as to what this was seems to have satisfactorily solved the puzzle, and has been accepted by most writers since, that Anne should allow the impediment caused by her sister's previous illicit connection with the King, which brought herself within the prohibited degrees of affinity to him. The immaculate Henry could not admit this himself, nor appeal to common knowledge at Court. Anne'

help would get over the difficulty. She gave it, and imagined apparently that it would gain her a reprieve; for that day at dinner she talked to her attendants about going to a nunnery.* But she had only been tricked. Cranmer proceeded to declare Henry's second marriage null, on account of a certain unnamed impediment; thus making Elizabeth, like Mary, illegitimate. The King could now marry Jane Seymour without danger of a rival to her future issue by him.

On the morning of May 17th the execution was carried out of Anne's pretended paramours. By the excellent mercy of the King, they were not called upon to suffer the worst ignominies of the traitor's death—hanging, drawing and quartering. They were simply beheaded, including even the humble Smeaton; for the version that he was hanged seems inaccurate. In turn Lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brereton and Smeaton laid their heads upon the block. They were allowed the usual dying speeches beforehand; but accounts, though there are several, vary as to their words. Rochford, according to Wriothesley, spoke at some length, the gist being that he came not to preach a sermon, but to die as the law had condemned. He desired his hearers to trust in God, not in the vanities of the world. If he himself had been as diligent to observe the Word of God and to do and live thereafter as he had been to read it and set it forth, he would not be where he was. Chapuys's version is that Rochford disclaimed all that he was charged with, confessing, however, that he had deserved death for having so been contaminated and so con-

* "A nonre," as Kingston spells it in his letter to Cromwell that day, May 16th, 1536.

taminating others with these new sects, and he prayed everyone to abandon such heresies.

Chapuys, while making Rochford protest his innocence of the charges brought against him, is evidently anxious to make him recant his Lutheranism, which the other versions of the speech do not represent him as doing. Constantyne, who professes to have been present at the execution, gives an account very similar to Wriothesley's; and, as the two writers were poles asunder in their religious opinions, we may do best by accepting their versions. If so, the gay, brilliant young courtier, poet and diplomatist, made an edifying end, but with his religious sympathies unchanged.

At least he died bravely. So did Norris and Weston, who said practically nothing on the scaffold, and Brereton. According to Constantyne, the last (who had been a schoolfellow of his) said: "I have deserved to die, if it were a thousand deaths. But the cause wherefore I die, judge ye not. But if ye judge, judge the best!" No suggestion of admission of guilt came from any of them. The wretched Smeaton's words are given by Constantyne as "Masters, I pray you all pray for me, for I have deserved the death."

When she heard that Smeaton had failed to exonerate her, Anne was said to have exclaimed: "Hath he not then cleared me of the shame he hath brought upon me? Alas! I fear his soul will suffer!"* But Smeaton, even if he had been a brave man, would

* This is stated both by the French poem on Anne's life and in Meteren's "Histoire des Pays Bas," to which Burnet attached some authority. The words are not given elsewhere.

have had to be very brave to withdraw his "confession" when in the executioner's hands. It was not too late to inflict on him the full penalty of treason.

According to Chapuys, Anne was made to witness the executions from her lodgings. Whether this horror was really inflicted on her is not certain. Her captors were at least capable of such conduct. Old Kingston continued to watch her and report her sayings to Cromwell, though she was beyond the reach of any further harm that he could do her. On May 18th he wrote, in evident concern :

"I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman for all men but for the King at the hour of death, for this morning she sent with me that I might be with her at such time as she received the Good Lord, to the intent that I should hear her speak as touching her innocency always to be clear ; and in the writing of this she sent for me. And at my coming she said, 'Master Kingston, I hear say I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefor, for I thought to be dead by this time and past my pain?' I told her it should be no pain, it was so subtle. And then she said, 'I heard say the executor was very good, and I have a little neck,' and put her hand about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men and also women executed, and all they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death."

Chapuys also had his spy within the Tower, though who it was is uncertain, as he merely speaks of "the woman who has her in charge." From her no doubt he heard the story which he sent to Granvelle, how on her last night Anne had said that the jesters would

find no difficulty in finding a nickname for her in history—"*la Royne Anne sans-tête*—and then she laughed heartily." Then he speaks of her in a more serious vein. Both on this day and on the morrow, before her execution, she is represented as saying that she did not consider she was condemned by Divine judgment, except for having been the cause of the ill-treatment of the Princess Mary and for having planned her death. The "planning of her death" is, no doubt, an embellishment. But there is no reason to disbelieve that Anne in her last days genuinely repented of her harshness towards Mary, varied though it was by necessarily ineffective attempts at conciliation. It is noteworthy that the actual breaking of Mary's proud spirit, inducing her to make an abject submission to all her father demanded, was after the death of "that woman," as she called Anne.

The 19th of the month arrived, thirteen days short of three years from the date of her coronation, and at 8 a.m. Queen Anne was led out to execution on the Green by the great White Tower, clad in a fur-trimmed robe of grey damask over a petticoat of crimson. A white collar was about her neck, her robe being cut low, and a hood over her head, embroidered with pearls. It was the last occasion on which she, always so noted for her taste in dress, would be able to display it. Four ladies attended her. According to story one of these was her favourite Margaret Lee, sister of Thomas Wyatt, to whom it was said she gave on the scaffold a book of devotions which still exists, showing that it had belonged to Anne Boleyn. It may have been so; but it is to be feared that it is more likely that the four unwelcome attendants

who were with her in the Tower accompanied her still.

Precautions had been taken to keep the execution as little of a public ceremony as possible, for the revulsion of feeling caused by the spectacle of the trial had made itself felt. Chapuys had noted that, and was himself almost shocked! It was ordered that all foreigners should be excluded from the scene, and a very low scaffold had been set up, to avoid its being seen from a distance. On the Green were gathered the Lord Chancellor Audley, the Duke of Richmond,* the Duke of Suffolk, most of the King's Council (but not Norfolk or Wiltshire), the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs of London, and representatives of the leading City Companies; and further off were such spectators as were able to secure admittance.

Anne mounted the low scaffold and delivered her dying speech, of which, as in the case of her brother, there are numerous reports. Wriothesley makes her begin with a submission to the law, as it had judged her. As for her offences, God knew them, and she remitted them to Him, beseeching Him to have mercy upon her soul. Then followed a prayer for the King and an eulogy of him—alas! only too grotesque, though it was quite according to the etiquette of the scaffold—for his virtues and his kindness to her. These words were delivered "with a goodly smiling countenance." Then kneeling down she said, "To Jesu Christ I commend my soul!"

By a special privilege the ordinary executioner was

* When the young Duke died on the following July 22nd, Wriothesley wrote that it was thought that he was privily poisoned by the means of Queen Anne and Lord Rochford, for he pined inwardly in his body long before he died!

not to deal with her, the first English Queen to be beheaded, and instead the expert headsman of Calais had been brought over to strike off her head with a sword—at a cost to Sir William Kingston of £23 6s. 8d., as the Tower accounts showed.

The French verse narrative (which may be treated with some respect, as it was originally written in London only three weeks after the execution) states that Anne now with her own hands put off her collar and hood, that the force of the blow might not be impeded. She knelt in readiness, repeating several times, "O Christ, I beseech Thee, receive my spirit!" One of her ladies came forward in tears and covered her face with a linen cloth. The headsman stepped up, and with one blow cut through the little neck, and Anne Boleyn was no more.

The same afternoon the head and body were buried in the choir of the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the Tower—after having been thrown, according to Burnet, into a common chest of elm, made to keep arrows in. In the operations of repaving part of this chapel in November, 1876, when the pavement was lifted at the spot where the remains of Anne Boleyn were supposed to be, there were found bones which the medical man assisting in the work pronounced to be those of a female between twenty-five and thirty years of age, of a delicate frame of body and of slender and perfect proportions, the forehead and lower jaw small and well formed, and the neck-vertebrae especially small.* They were re-interred in the place where they were found.

* D. C. Bell, "Notices of Historic Persons Buried in the Tower," page 21.

Lord Rochford's head and body had been interred in the choir of the chapel also, quite close to his sister's; but his remains were not disturbed in 1876. By a strange irony, less than six years after the execution of Anne and George Boleyn, the latter's wife was also decapitated in the Tower with Queen Katharine Howard, and her head and body were interred with her mistress's on the other side of the choir.

On May 24th, in conversation with Chapuys, Cromwell "greatly praised the intelligence, wit and courage of the Concubine and her brother."* It would be interesting to know, what can never be known, what he thought of the guilt of which he had by his devilish scheming convicted them. To the present writer it is beyond a doubt that they and their fellow victims died for no crime at all. If the innocence of both sister and brother was not proved by the way they met their accusers and their death, then it is impossible by gracious courage ever to prove innocence. They did not, it is true, make violent protest against the unparalleled injustice to which they had been subjected. In the hour of death, and when escaping from a tyrant's hands, this may not seem worth while. And Anne at least left a helpless baby behind, for whose sake resignation was best.

* * * * *

Has Anne Boleyn in these pages appeared the creature of evil which her enemies (and it must be borne in mind that it is almost entirely from the writings of her enemies that we have to disentangle her history) represented her to be? If so, the attempt

* Chapuys to the Emperor, June 6th, 1536.

which has been made to consider her without prejudice has failed. That she was proud, ambitious, a foe to her foes, even to vindictiveness, given to speaking her mind, careless of speech, gaiety-loving, is evident. But she was also brave, true to her friends, lavish with her gifts where liking or charity led her, sincere in her religious opinions, and withal a woman of genuine intellectual power. In the cruel, immoral, avaricious, treacherous and lying age of the Tudors, she crosses the scene a brilliant, perplexing and pathetic figure, and vanishes into the darkness, still only in her youthful womanhood. History—considered in the light of a record of personages, not of peoples—would be more intriguing were there more in it such as Anne the Queen.

APPENDIX A

ANNE AND MARY BOLEYN

THE question of the relative ages of the two daughters of Thomas Boleyn, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, is a celebrated historical puzzle, and the prospect of a definite answer to it, convincing to all, appears as remote as ever it was. Unhappily what is essential to put the matter beyond doubt, strictly contemporary evidence, is lacking. The divergence of testimony begins soon after the Boleyn sisters had passed away, and it is now impossible to offer any explanation of the reason for it.

Apart from the subject of the dates when either sister was at the French Court (since Professor Gairdner's article in "The English Historical Review," Vol. VIII., page 53, there can be no dispute that both were there in their youth), the controversy over their ages leaves the following two sets of statements irreconcilable :

In favour of Anne's juniority.—Camden in a marginal note (equivalent to a footnote) in his "History of Queen Elizabeth," definitely asserts that the year of her birth was 1507 ; and Camden is not a writer whose statements can be lightly regarded.

Henry Clifford's "Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria" (see pages 5–6 above) distinctly states that Anne Boleyn "was not 29 years of age" when she died—on May 19th, 1536.

These are both witnesses to Anne being the younger sister, because they place her birth in 1507 ; and we know that Mary Boleyn married her first husband, William Carey, in February, 1520.

Mary and William Carey had a son Henry, whom Queen Elizabeth created Baron Hunsdon. His son George, who succeeded to the title on his father's death in 1596, wrote next year to Burleigh, the Lord Treasurer, asking his help in the

matter of a petition which he contemplated making to Queen Elizabeth, claiming the Earldom of Ormonde through his grandmother, Mary Boleyn, daughter of the last Earl of (Wiltshire and) Ormonde. Lord Hunsdon wrote with reference to his great-grandfather :

" The Erldome of Ormonde, he survivinge his other children before that time attainted, he in right lefte to his eldest daughter Marye. . . . Her Ma^tie is a coheire with me to the saide Erldome viz. daughter and heir of Anne yongest daughter of the saide Sir Thomas Bullen, late Erle of Ormonde. . . . The saide dignitie of the Erldome of Ormonde . . . descended to my grandmother his eldest daughter and sole heire " (" State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth").

In 1619, Ralph Brooke, York Herald, published " A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Viscounts of this Realme of England," in which, under the wives of Henry VIII., he said that

" Anne, the second wife of King Henry the eight, was second daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond."*

Against Anne's juniority.—On the tombstone of Lady Berkeley, daughter of the second Lord Hunsdon, it is stated that Henry Carey, her grandfather, was " son and heir of William Carey and the Lady Mary his wife, second daughter and coheir of Thomas Bullen, Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire " (Collins, " Peerage," Vol. III., page 615).

John Smyth of Nibley, who was personal attendant in 1584 to the husband of the Lady Berkeley above mentioned, in his manuscript Lives of the Berkeleys (published in " The Berkeley Manuscripts," under the editorship of Sir John MacLean, in 1883), says that William Carey " maryed Mary second daughter and coheire of Thomas Bullein."

* It may be added that Anne's patent of creation as Marchioness of Pembroke on September 1st, 1532, calls her " Anne Rocheford, one of the daughters of Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond " (" Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. V., page 585), whereas if she were the elder daughter we should rather expect the fact to be stated.

Ralph Brooke in the work already quoted, when he reaches the Earls of Wiltshire in the Catalogue, says that Thomas Bollen (*sic*) has issue " George Bollen, Viscount Rochford . . . and two daughters; Anne the eldest . . . Mary the second daughter."

It has been pointed out that Augustine Vincent, Rouge-Croix, in his " Discoverie of Errours " of the York Herald (1622), does not challenge his assertion; but neither does he challenge the other, which makes Anne the second daughter!

Dr. J. H. Round in his pamphlet, " The Early Days of Anne Boleyn," published in 1885, quotes from two Boleyn pedigrees: (1) One apparently of the reign of Charles I. in Harleian MSS. 1233, fol. 81, which speaks of " Mary Bullen second dau.: wife of William Cary Esq.; and (2) a formally attested pedigree for 1679 in the archives of the College of Arms, which mentions " Anne Bollin March of Pembroke eldest dau^{r} " and " Mary Bollin dau^{r} and heire."

So much for the oldest evidence which has been found!

APPENDIX B

THE AGE OF GEORGE BOLEYN, VISCOUNT ROCHFORD

A DOGGEREL poem by George Cavendish on the death of Lord Rochford (Singer's edition of Cavendish's "Life of Cardinal Wolsey," Vol. II., page 19) contains the lines, put in the mouth of the departed:

> "It hath not been knowen nor seldome seen
> That any of my yeres byfore this day
> Into the privy councell preferred hath been:
> My soverayn lord in his chamber did me assay
> Or yeres thryes nine had past away;
> A rare thing suer seldom or never hard
> So young a man so highly to be preferrd."

From this statement and a knowledge that George Boleyn was of the King's privy chamber in 1527—as a matter of fact, the date of his appointment was earlier—some writers, including Miss Strickland, have concluded that he was born about 1500. But "chamber" in the poem appears to be the same as "privy councell" in the preceding line; and certainly 27 ("yeres thryes nine") would not be an early age at which to be appointed to the King's privy chamber, a very different post from the Council. I have traced no allusion to the appointment of George Boleyn to the Council; but, in view of the rapid advancement of both his father and himself before and after this period, it is conceivable that after the father became Earl of Wiltshire at the end of 1529, and the son in turn Viscount Rochford, the latter was then appointed to the Council. Thus we should arrive at 1503 as the earliest possible date of his birth.

It was in 1525, it seems, that George Boleyn became a

gentleman of the privy chamber. In the Record Office there is a mutilated document in Cardinal Wolsey's handwriting, which is assigned to January, 1526 ("Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.," Vol. IV., page 871), entitled "A provysyon for suche as shu[ld] . . . of the Kinges p[rivy chamber]." One of the paragraphs runs:

"Yong Bolleyn to [have] XX *l.* yeerly above the . . . he hath gottyn to hy[m a]nd hys wyfe to lyve therupon; and also to admyt [h]ym to be one of the kupberers when the Kyng dynyth [o]wt."

We can hardly be wrong in identifying "yong Bolleyn" with Anne's brother George.

APPENDIX C

THE DEATH OF ANNE BOLEYN'S MOTHER

IN the section devoted to Anne Boleyn in her "Lives of the Queens of England" Miss Agnes Strickland states that Anne Boleyn's mother, the former Lady Elizabeth Howard, died of puerperal fever in 1512, quoting as her authority the Howard Memorials, by Mr. Howard of Corby. She also says:

"Sir Thomas Boleyn married again; at what period of his life we have no record, but it is certain that Anne's stepmother was a Norfolk woman of humble origin, and it has been observed that Queen Elizabeth was connected, in consequence of this second marriage of her grandfather, with numerous families in Norfolk of a mean station in that county."

To this a note is appended:

"Thoms' Traditions: Camden Society.—The fact that the Lady Boleyn so prominent in history . . . was *not* Anne Boleyn's mother throws a new light on the history of the court. It ought to be noted how completely Mr. Thoms' Norfolk MSS. and the Howard Memorials agree upon this point."

Let us see what Mr. Thoms has to say. In 1839 W. J. Thoms edited for the Camden Society, under the title of "Anecdotes and Traditions illustrative of Early English History and Literature," the MS. "Merry Passages and Jests" of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, of Hunstanton, elder brother of the celebrated Sir Roger L'Estrange, "the bloodhound of the Press." One of Sir Nicholas's stories is as follows:

"One begg'd of Queene Elizabeth and pretended kindred and alliance, but there was no such relation. 'Friend,' says she, 'grant it be so, do'st thinke I am bound to keepe all my kindred? Why, that's the way to make *me* a beggar!'"

Mr. Thoms comments:

"Queen Elizabeth had numerous maternal relatives, and many of them among the inferior gentry (particularly in Norfolk), an inconvenience which arose from her father having selected for his second consort a subject of no very elevated extraction."

It is perfectly clear that Mr. Thoms is referring to the second marriage of Henry VIII. He does not even mention Sir Thomas Boleyn. How, therefore, Miss Strickland got "the second marriage of her [Queen Elizabeth's] grandfather," Anne Boleyn's father, from the Norfolk MSS. is a marvel. Truly a *belle-mère's* nest!

There remains the statement in Mr. H. Howard's "Indications of Memorials of the Howard Family," privately printed in 1834-6. Here it is stated that Elizabeth Howard, wife of Thomas Boleyn, died *puerperio* at Lambeth, December 14th, 1512, and was interred at Lambeth. No authority is given for the date.

Curiously, G. E. C[okayne] in his "Peerage" asserts that Elizabeth Howard, Countess of Wiltshire, died "in childbed" on April 3rd, and was buried April 7th, 1537, in the Howard aisle at Lambeth Church. The date of the year, 1537, causes no difficulty, for we often find a confusion arising out of the diversity of reckoning on what day the year started. But it is certainly startling to hear of the lady's death "in childbed" at so advanced an age as she must have attained in 1538. I can hazard no explanation of this.

With regard to the interment of the Countess of Wiltshire at Lambeth, I have been unable to trace there any funeral certificate, such as Cokayne mentions. In that scarce work, J. Nichols's "History of the Parish of Lambeth" (1786), there is a statement that there was formerly a brass plate with the inscription, "Here lyeth the Lady Elizabeth Howard, some time Countess of Wiltshire." This plate was no longer in existence; but it had been in the chancel of the church, no reference being made to the Howard aisle.

If we could discover another Elizabeth Howard, who died in 1512, we might be able to trace the confusion which has led to the invention of a stepmother for Anne Boleyn. Unfortunately I have not succeeded in finding the lady!

APPENDIX D

LETTERS OF ANNE AND THOMAS BOLEYN

THE following is the text of Anne's childish letter to her father, of which the original is at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, being bequeathed by Archbishop Parker, one of her chaplains :

" Monss^{r}. Je antandue par v^{re} lettre que a ves envy que touſs onette fame quan Je vindre a la courte et mavertisses que la Rene prendra la pein de devisser a vecc moi de quoy me Regoy bine fort de penser parler a vecc ung perscone tante sage et onnete cela me ferra a voyr plus grante anuy de continuer a parler bene franssais et oussy espel [*erased*] especy ale man pour suc que melaues tant Recommande et de me man vous a versty que les gardere le meux que Je poure Monss^{r} Je vous supplya descusser sy ma lettre et male et sipta car je vous asure quete et ottografie de monantend amant sule la vue les aultres ne sont faiz que escript de maman et Semmonet me dit la lettre mes domeura fan je le fie moy meme de peur que lone ne saces sance que Je vous mande et Je vous pry que la loumire de vu vue net libertte de separe la voullante que dites aves de me edere car hile me semble quettes aşcure en lue [?] la ou vous poues sy vous plet me vere de claraison de v^{re} paroile et de moy coues sertene que miara cuoffice de peres ne din gratitude que sut en passer ne et fasere mon a veccfion quecte de libere deviere autant sance que vous plera me commander et vous prommes que mon amour et vondue par ung si grante fermette quele nara James pouer de sane deminuer et feres fin a mon pourpon a pres mettre Recommande bine humblemente a v^{re} bone grace et script a Veure de

" V^{re} tres humble et tres obeiff
fille ANNA DE BOULLAN."

[Transcription made for the Rev. J. S. Brewer by the Rev. J. R. Lumby.]

The following is the text of Sir Thomas Boleyn's letter to Margaret of Austria in 1514, as transcribed by Mr. J. Eliot Hodgkin in "Notes and Queries," 8th Series, Vol. VIII., page 141, from the original holograph then recently sold by auction at Sotheby's:

"Ma treschiere et tres redoubtee dame dans sy hu'ble cuer quil mest possible a v're bonne grace me Recom'ande. Il vous playra a sauoir com'ent la seur du Roy mon maistre madame marie Reyne fyancee de france ma Requyse dauoir auecques ma fille la petitte boulain laquelle ma tres redoubtee dame est a present auesques vous en v're court a laquelle Requeste Je may peult ne sceut Refuzer nullement, sy est ma tres redoubtee dame que Je vous supplie tres humblement quil vous plaise de don'er et octroyer congiet a ma fille de pouuoir Retourner p'deuent moy auecques mes gens lesquels Jay envoyet deuers vous a ceste cause ma tres redoubte dame Je me tiens fort obligiet envers v^re^ bonne grace a cause de la gra't hon'eur que fait aues a ma fille et que ne mest possible a desseruir deuers v^re^ bonne grace non obstant que Je ne dezire aultre chose synon que Je v^os^ puisse faire aulcun seruice agreable ce que Jespere de faire encores cy en apres un plaisir de dieu auquel Je prie ma tres redoubtee dame quil vous doinst lentier accomplissement de vos noble et bons desirs Escript desoubz mon signe manuel a la court Royalle de grynewiche en engleterre/le xiiij^e^ Jour daoust m^o^ xv^e^ et xiiij

"V^re^ tres hu'ble S^r^uiteur
"Sr. Thomas Boleyn."

Postscript.—It may be noted that I have made no reference, in the account of Anne Boleyn's last days, to her alleged letter to Henry VIII. from the Tower. All evidence for its authenticity is lacking, neither the handwriting nor the style being Anne's.

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